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PM under pressure to reveal details of energy crisis plan

Pippa Crerar
Rowena Mason

An emergency budget to bring in winter tax cuts for millions of people and set out more detail on assistance with energy bills is expected late next week as the country emerges from national mourning.

Although politics has been paralysed by the death of the Queen,

Liz Truss is under pressure from Tory MPs to set out her plans potentially on Thursday or Friday next week, before the Commons breaks up for party conferences.

The Queen's death has completely overshadowed the announcement of the £150bn energy cap scheme, and left Whitehall trying to finalise the details of any budget at the same time as organising the state funeral.

The new prime minister is planning

to travel to the UN general assembly in New York in the days after the funeral, returning in time to sit alongside her chancellor, Kwasi Kwarteng, as he delivers his "fiscal event".

The timetable for the trip suggests that No 10 has given up hope of arranging a meeting for Truss with Joe Biden at the White House.

The US president and other world leaders are expected to travel to the UK for the funeral but there will be

no official bilateral meetings out of respect for the period of mourning.

A minute's silence for a "shared moment of national reflection" will be held at 8pm on Sunday 18 September, the day before the Queen's funeral on Monday, which will be a bank holiday.

Truss's spokesman said she was still planning to hold a fiscal event this month. The most obvious day would be Thursday 22 September,

as parliamentary business has been postponed until after Wednesday 21st and Truss is likely to be in New York until then. However, it could be on the Friday if recess were to be delayed, buttressing the Labour party conference, which begins in Liverpool the following day.

At the mini-budget, the government is expected to confirm plans to reverse the recent rise in national insurance, even though that would benefit top earners the most, handing back about £1,800 a year to the highest paid while the lowest earner would gain about £7 a year.

Truss has already said she would ditch a planned rise in corporation tax, although there have been some suggestions this may not come next week. Her team has also spoken to business groups about changes to business rates



▲ Mourners including King Charles; the Princess Royal; Camilla, the Queen Consort; the Duke of York; and the Earl and Countess of Wessex in St Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh PHOTOGRAPH: JANE BARLOW/PA

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News

Truss under pressure from MPs to reveal plans to tackle energy crisis

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and cuts to VAT, as well as a longer-term review of these taxes.

The government is also expected to outline further details of Truss's £100bn-plus bailout for households to help with energy bills as well as plans for tax cuts, after criticism that she had not said how the package would be funded. She has rejected Labour's calls for a windfall tax on energy firms, despite public support.

Paul Johnson, the director of the Institute for Fiscal Studies thinktank, has said the government would have to come up with a better version of the energy price guarantee next year because Truss's plan was "incredibly expensive" and "totally untargeted".

Truss is under pressure from her own party to set out her plans as soon as possible. David Davis, a Conservative MP and former cabinet minister, said "broadly speaking it was the right way to go" to hold an emergency fiscal event next week.

"The truth is the public thinks about politics less than 10% of the

▼ Liz Truss arriving at Westminster Hall for King Charles III's first address to the Houses of Parliament

PHOTOGRAPH: HENRY NICHOLLS/AFP/GETTY



'A nasty sting'

Thinktank's warning on PM's energy plan

Liz Truss's plans for an energy price freeze and sweeping tax cuts will hand Britain's richest families twice as much financial support with living costs as the poorest households, according to a leading thinktank.

The Resolution Foundation said the prime minister's energy package, announced hours before news of the death of the Queen last week, would come with a "colossal" price tag for taxpayers, which was poorly targeted to help those most in need when combined with tax cuts promised in her leadership campaign.

The foundation said the richest tenth of UK households would get £4,700 in support, on average, from the government's "energy price guarantee" and cuts to

national insurance - far in excess of the £2,200 support for a typical family in the poorest tenth.

Truss's plan to support struggling families remains unclear, after she chose to hold back from publishing the cost details for her plan until a mini-budget expected next week.

Torsten Bell, the chief executive of the Resolution Foundation, said: "The energy price guarantee was absolutely the right thing to do in terms of providing support where it's needed. But, by ruling out any attempt to fund it through further windfall taxes, the welcome support today could have a nasty sting in terms of higher mortgage payments and higher taxes tomorrow."

Richard Partington

Analysis

Pippa Crerar



The coming days will set the tone for new PM's time in No 10. Can she judge the national mood?

As Liz Truss processed out of Westminster Hall behind King Charles III, over the brass plaques marking the trials of Guy Fawkes and Charles I, and the spot where the Queen Mother lay in state, she looked like she was personally bearing the weight of history on her shoulders.

Her face grave and drawn, the new prime minister may have been reflecting on the new King's words to MPs and peers: "Parliament is the living and breathing instrument of our democracy".

For 10 days at least, it is not. Parliament is suspended. Politics has faded into the background. The new government's planned policy blitz has been shelved. Whitehall will be conducting essential business only. Truss will be taking

a back seat to the royal family as they lead the national mourning.

Yet for Truss, how she handles this period will set the tone for her entire premiership. If she gets it right, judging the mood of the country correctly, it will bolster her in the hard months ahead. If she fails, her task over the winter as the economic emergency bites will become harder still.

This week, Truss is expected to remember that she is speaking for the British people, rather than for herself. While the cogs of the civil service kicked in the moment news of the Queen's death arrived, with the enactment of the long-planned Operation London Bridge, not every part of her response so far has gone smoothly.

Her speech outside No 10 was criticised by some Tory MPs for being underwhelming and lacking

depth and empathy - both on display in Commons tributes the following day by her opponent, Keir Starmer, and predecessors Boris Johnson and Theresa May.

After meeting the King for their first weekly audience last week, the new prime minister became the target of social media mockery over her awkward curtsy.

Downing Street was then forced to pour cold water on reports of a proposed tour of the UK nations with the King, claiming she had never intended to accompany the monarch on walkabouts. Yet newspapers had been briefed that the pair would "tour the UK" and visits would include them greeting members of the public.

What may help Truss is the opportunity to play global stateswoman. Already well versed in diplomacy after her time as foreign secretary, she and her

time. But this is different because this is about their own frightening winter bills, and I mean frightening," he said. "That's why it's such a high-political-purchase issue, and you can't leave it because the point is to take people's worries away. The economics and the politics point in the same direction."

He said it would be preferable to have independent costings for the energy package alongside the fiscal event but forecasts from the Office for Budget Responsibility and Bank of England had been so "erroneous" that it would be better to go ahead without them.

The former cabinet minister John Redwood added: "After mourning a much-loved Queen and the state funeral, parliament should meet. The current plan for a long conference recess means a delayed return on 17 October. We need to tackle the cost of living crisis and energy shortage before then."

Parliamentary sources suggested that the conference recess, currently due to end on 17 October, could be cut by one week to two weeks in length, so that MPs could get back to work.

No 10 said legislation would not be needed to bring in the energy support package for households as it would involve guarantees between the government and private energy suppliers. However, some legislation might be needed to enact support for businesses.

Truss is continuing to get her top team in place, with Simon Case set to keep his job as cabinet secretary after having been expected to be ousted. Case, a former private secretary to Prince William, is believed to have impressed the prime minister during talks over forming a government and the energy support package.

government will have a key role in welcoming foreign leaders as they arrive for the Queen's funeral.

Downing Street, however, has made clear there will be no time for bilateral meetings that could, presumably, look opportunistic.

In the days following the funeral, Truss will address the UN general assembly in New York, where she will have the chance to set out her new vision for global Britain. There could also be a trip to Ukraine.

Truss's big moment was supposed to have been her £150bn energy package announcement last Thursday. But it got virtually no airtime at all after the Queen's death. Despite making one of the largest ever economic interventions, she may yet find herself failing to get the credit..

Truss's emergency budget, expected next Thursday or Friday, gives her a chance to get back on the front foot, setting out her plans for tax cuts, but with the royal family still in mourning, she will need to tread a careful path through the politics.

Conference season offers another opportunity - but also a risk. Truss would have wanted to use the moment to create dividing lines with Starmer. But she will need to judge whether the country is ready for a full-throated partisan attack. If she gets that wrong, she risks losing political capital just as she needs it most.

Not every part of her response has gone smoothly. Her speech outside No 10 was criticised by some Tory MPs as underwhelming



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▼ A picture of the Queen among the flowers at the dedicated site for tributes in Green Park, London

PHOTOGRAPH: CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY

'A gift in return': poet laureate releases verse to mark death of Queen



Lucy Knight

The poet laureate, Simon Armitage, has released a poem to mark the death of Queen Elizabeth II.

Floral Tribute, which has been distributed by Armitage's publisher, Faber, is a double acrostic, with two verses consisting of nine lines, the first letters of which spell "ELIZABETH", a nod perhaps to funeral floral arrangements that spell out the deceased person's name.

The poet directly refers to himself in the first verse: "I have conjured a lily to light these hours, a token of thanks." Armitage thanks the Queen for her "gift" of "a promise made and kept for life" and offers his poem as "a gift in return".

The poet uses the metaphor of a lily - and in line 11 specifically lily of the valley, which was said to have been the Queen's favourite flower - to represent both the poem and the Queen herself: "This lily that thrives between spire and tree, whose brightness/Holds and glows beyond the life and border of its bloom."

Floral Tribute is the second poem the Yorkshire-born poet has written

about the Queen this year, following Queenhood, which was written in celebration of the late monarch's platinum jubilee. His first poem to address the royals during his laureateship was The Patriarchs, a tribute to Prince Philip after his death in April 2021.

Armitage described the acrostic form as "a problem to which the poem becomes a solution", which in this case helped him to work creatively under time pressure (while there is no official job description for the poet laureate, he or she is generally expected to mark occasions such as this). "If you were thinking of writing a poem about the Queen, you wouldn't automatically reach for the word 'zeal'", he said.



▲ Simon Armitage also wrote a poem this year for the platinum jubilee

Floral Tribute

*Evening will come, however determined the late afternoon,
Limes and oaks in their last green flush, pearled in September mist.
I have conjured a lily to light these hours, a token of thanks,
Zones and auras of soft glare framing the brilliant globes.
A promise made and kept for life - that was your gift -
Because of which, here is a gift in return, glovewort to some,
Each shining bonnet guarded by stern lance-like leaves.
The country loaded its whole self into your slender hands,
Hands that can rest, now, relieved of a century's weight.*

*Evening has come. Rain on the black lochs and dark Munros.
Lily of the Valley, a namesake almost, a favourite flower
Interlaced with your famous bouquets, the restrained
Zeal and forceful grace of its lanterns, each inflorescence
A silent bell disguising a singular voice. A blurred new day
Breaks uncrowned on remote peaks and public parks, and
Everything turns on these luminous petals and deep roots,
This lily that thrives between spire and tree, whose brightness
Holds and glows beyond the life and border of its bloom.*

Simon Armitage, poet laureate

As well as helping him to "stretch [his] imagination", the form was also a way to "encode" Queen Elizabeth's name, Armitage said. "I was probably thinking a little bit about the first Elizabethan age", the poet explained, when poetry was often "full of little signs and signals".

Armitage was appointed poet laureate in May 2019, becoming the sixth person to take up the role during the Queen's reign, following Cecil Day-Lewis, John Betjeman, Ted Hughes, Andrew Motion and Carol Ann Duffy. Philip Larkin was offered the role in 1984, but declined.

The position has been an established role since 1668. While the poet laureate is still officially appointed by the reigning monarch, since 1790 the prime minister has recommended which candidate to appoint.

After the dismissal of the Catholic John Dryden in 1689, the laureateship was held by his successors for life until 1999, when Motion was appointed for a fixed term of 10 years.

As well as poems about the royal family, Armitage has written about scientific discoveries, the 50th anniversary of the moon landing and the coronavirus during his time as laureate.

Paddington Public asked not to leave toys as tribute

Tobi Thomas

People leaving tributes to the late Queen Elizabeth II have been asked not to leave Paddington Bear soft toys or marmalade sandwiches, and to remove the wrapping from flowers in an effort to make the tributes more environmentally friendly.

The announcement by the Royal Parks - the charity in charge of 2,024

hectares (5,000 acres) of royal land across London - came after thousands of people left tributes following the death of the Queen.

In a statement posted on its website, the Royal Parks said it would "prefer visitors not to bring non-floral objects/artefacts such as teddy bears or balloons" to the dedicated tribute site in Green Park, central London.

The charity also said it would like visitors to be mindful about whether their tributes were environmentally

sustainable, adding: "Any form of floral tribute is acceptable. In the interests of sustainability, we ask visitors to only lay organic or compostable material."

"The public will be asked to remove all wrapping from floral tributes and place these in the bins provided. Removing the wrapping will aid the longevity of the flowers and will assist in subsequent composting which will start between one week and a fortnight after the date of the funeral."

The charity added that lit candles were also not permitted, and that tributes would remain until all ceremonial activity had taken place.

The tributes to the Queen in the form of Paddington Bear toys and



▲ The Queen appeared in a sketch with Paddington Bear for her jubilee

marmalade sandwiches came in response to her filming a sketch with the popular children's character, as part of the platinum jubilee celebrations, which took place earlier this year.

Paddington Bear's official Twitter account paid tribute to the Queen on Thursday, posting: "Thank you Ma'am, for everything."

Yesterday formal plans for how the public can pay their respects to the Queen were announced, while her coffin lies in state inside parliamentary grounds from tomorrow until next Monday, the day of the funeral.

Queues are expected to form for those who wish to view the coffin, with it being predicted that up to 750,000 people may wish to attend.



Death of Queen Elizabeth II 1926–2022



Congregation celebrates the Queen's 'deep links' with Scottish people

**Robert Booth
Libby Brooks**

The people of Scotland – from former prime ministers to benefit claimants – said an emotional goodbye to their Queen yesterday as her coffin was set at rest in the “parish church of Edinburgh” where she was first given the Scottish crown 69 years ago.

Psalm the Queen used to sing in Crathie kirk on the Balmoral estate were set to soaring organ music as hundreds of dignitaries attended a service of thanksgiving for her life at St Giles' Cathedral.

Thousands of members of what the minister of St Giles, the Rev Calum MacLeod, described as “a sorrowing nation” – with backpacks filled with sandwiches, and foldable chairs – queued to file past the coffin.



▲ King Charles III stands in front of his mother's coffin during a vigil at St Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, held in her honour PHOTOGRAPH: JANE BARLOW/PA

Among those paying their respects were Gordon Brown, who stood with jaw fixed as King Charles and his siblings walked behind their mother's coffin as it was carefully inched on to a catafalque to lay at rest for 24 hours.

Also planning to say goodbye was Gary Birsdall, recently made homeless, who joined the snaking queue of people waiting to walk past the coffin to simply “say thank you”. And there was Simon Cook, who had brought his three teenage children from Livingston to witness what his 18-year-old son, Conor, said was “a bit of history”.

“She was our Queen but she was also part of something so much bigger,” Cook said. “This is a massive shift for the country and the world.”

At 3.15pm, the Queen's coffin, draped in the royal standard for Scotland, was borne slowly into the chancel by eight military personnel and lifted into place between a forest of sandstone columns.

It was the start of a process which the Duke of York had been heard describing to a member of the public at Balmoral on Saturday as “handing her on” from the family.

As King Charles, Camilla, the Queen Consort, and other members of the party looked on, the Scottish crown, which dates to 1540, was placed gently on top of the coffin. Alongside it was a wreath of white roses, chrysanthemums, dried

▲ The funeral cortege carrying the Queen's coffin arrives at St Giles' Cathedral in Edinburgh yesterday PHOTOGRAPH: DUNCAN MCGLYNN/REX

white lavender from Balmoral, and rosemary.

The service pulsed with history. MacLeod reminded the congregation that the cathedral had been the place where John Knox confronted Mary, Queen of Scots, and where Oliver Cromwell preached. There was the 17th-century music of Henry Purcell's Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets of our hearts, which was sung with breathtaking beauty by the choir as the congregation fell silent for 45 minutes before the cortege arrived.

Again and again, there were moments in the hour-long service when Scotland seemed to firmly embrace the Queen.

Karen Matheson, the popular and charismatic singer who rose to fame with the folk group Capercaillie, and an outspoken supporter of Scottish independence, sang, in Gaelic, a haunting version of Psalm 118 (I shall not die, but live, and shall the works of God discover), set to harp.

“We gather to bid Scotland's farewell to our late monarch, whose love for Scotland was legendary,” said MacLeod. The Rt Rev Dr Iain Greenshields, the moderator of the general assembly of the Church of Scotland, described her “kindly



◀ *The cortege in central Edinburgh and, below, the royal family; the Crown of Scotland on the coffin*

PHOTOGRAPHS: EPA, REUTERS, AFP/GETTY

heart and gentle sense of humour” and stressed that when at Balmoral she was a “neighbour and friend” to many. “We acknowledge with gratitude her deep links with our land and its people,” he said.

On the other side of the coffin sat the prime minister, Liz Truss, who less than a week ago was shaking the Queen’s hand after being asked to form a new government. Now she was mourning the longest reign of a monarch in British history.

In the next seat was Nicola Sturgeon, the first minister of Scotland, who gave a reading from Ecclesiastes 3: “For everything there is a season, and a time for every matter under heaven, a time to be born and a time to die.”

It was only possible to imagine King Charles’s thoughts as she concluded with the line: “That which is, already has been; that which is to be, already is.”

Among the groups from across Scottish society represented inside the cathedral were representatives from Scottish charities of which the Queen was patron, including Chest Heart & Stroke Scotland, the Royal Scottish National Orchestra and the Scottish Football Association.

After the congregation, including the former SNP leader Alex Salmond, the former Lib Dem leaders David Steel and Menzies Campbell and the former Labour defence secretary George Robertson, filed out, the cathedral was given over to the public and will remain open to those who have secured wristbands to gain access until this afternoon.

Among those queuing earlier in the day were Jo Williams, 41, a former prison officer who had driven from Manchester on Sunday night and was in the queue for the cathedral by 5.45am.

“Just the fact that I wore the crown for 15 years [on her prison officer epaulettes], I just have a great respect for the monarchy,” she said.

“I like Charles. There were a few points I was unsure of him, but seeing him now, he has been fantastic. He was among the public outside Buckingham Palace [on Friday]. He still has the old-fashioned values of his mum, but he is quite forward thinking.”

“I have got huge respect for the Queen, but also for Charles,” added Pete Binder, 60, who had driven down from Scotland’s north coast to be one of the first paying respects to the Queen. “I think he is going to be a brilliant king. I think he connects with people.”

Jen Cresswell had arrived around 9am with her three friends, camping chairs, a bag of sausage rolls and books to pass the time including Tolkien’s *The Return of the King*.

“I can’t think of anything more British than being well-organised in a queue,” she said.

Cresswell, who lives in Edinburgh, said the Queen’s passing at Balmoral allowed her “a Scottish farewell”.

“Events like this can be very London-centric, but the Queen had a very personal connection to the people of Scotland. Whilst there was great respect, she was also one of us.”

Tourism Rush for hotels as capital warns of congestion

Mark Sweney
Rupert Jones
Jess Clark

Mourners hoping to travel to London to pay their respects to the Queen are being told to prepare for “unprecedented” demand on transport and in stations, with hundreds of thousands expected to make the trip.

As many as 750,000 people are expected to travel to the capital from tomorrow to pay respects to the late monarch as she lies in state for four days before her funeral on Monday. The public have been warned they may face 12-hour queues to see her coffin in Westminster Hall.

Network Rail, the Rail Delivery Group and Transport for London (TfL) urged travellers to plan ahead and to expect crowded services and congested stations, adding that passengers should consider walking to their final destinations in the capital.

TfL said not to drive in London if possible – and to avoid Green Park tube station altogether if travelling on public transport. Other stations including Westminster, Victoria, Waterloo, Hyde Park Corner and Marble Arch were also expected to be extremely busy.

Accommodation bookings have already increased as people from the UK and around the world plan to head to the capital for the Queen’s funeral. One travel expert said demand to stay in London was at its highest since the 2012 Olympics.

Amid the clamour for somewhere to stay, whether from individual mourners keen to pay their respects or from foreign delegations trying to secure a group booking, some operators appear to have increased their prices substantially.

An analysis by the PA news agency found that hotel prices were up to four times higher on the Sunday night before the funeral than for equivalent accommodation a week later. It said the rate for the cheapest room at Park Plaza County Hall London – one of the closest hotels to Westminster Abbey – on Sunday night was £1,299, against £269 seven days later.

The chief executive of the industry body UKHospitality, Kate Nicholls, said: “We’re hearing from hotel operators in London that they’ve experienced a surge in bookings since last Thursday’s announcement of the death of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.”



▲ *Crowds and floral tributes outside Buckingham Palace at the weekend*

Holyrood parliament

King pledges to ‘seek always the welfare of our country’

King Charles III has pledged he will “seek always the welfare of our country” as he addressed Scotland’s nationalist-led parliament for the first time as monarch.

In a short ceremony at Holyrood – a motion of condolence to mark the Queen’s death at Balmoral last week – the King said his mother “found in the hills of this land, and in the hearts of its people, a haven and a home”.

Charles said he mourned a life “of incomparable service” but would, he said, strive to follow his mother’s “inspiring example” of public duty.

“I take up my new duties with thankfulness for all that Scotland has given me,” the King said. “With resolve to seek always the welfare of our country and its people, and with wholehearted trust in your goodwill and good counsel as we take forward that task together.”

His appearance bookended an intensely emotional day for the

King, which began at Westminster with an address to MPs and peers with a similar pledge of “selfless duty”.

In Edinburgh several hours later, he walked a mile or so through the medieval old town behind the Queen’s hearse, from the royal family’s official home in Scotland, the Palace of Holyroodhouse, to a service at St Giles’ Cathedral. The queen’s coffin will lie at rest in the cathedral until late today, to allow mourners and well-wishers to pay their respects.

With former first ministers and former presiding officers watching from the public gallery, including Alex Salmond, David Steel and Jack McConnell, the King said he knew the parliament and Scottish people “share with me a profound sense of grief at the death of my beloved mother”.

He said that his previous Scottish title of Duke of Rothesay would now pass to his son, William.

Nicola Sturgeon, the first minister, said the Queen’s death was a moment of “profound sorrow” for many Scots. She had set an “extraordinary example to

all of us”. The Queen had offered her “words of wisdom, counsel and humour that will stay with me for the rest of my life” during their private audiences at Balmoral.

The Scottish government, run by Sturgeon’s Scottish National party in partnership with the pro-independence and republican Scottish Greens, hopes to hold a second independence referendum next year.

The Scottish Greens’ co-leader Patrick Harvie, a junior minister in Sturgeon’s government, appeared to hint at that goal when he urged the King to preside over a period of radical political and social change as monarch, paralleling the “extraordinary progressive change” seen during the Queen’s reign.

Harvie, who had not taken part in Sunday’s proclamation of King Charles’s reign, avoided any direct reference to his party’s republicanism. “As King Charles III begins his reign let us hope, indeed redouble our determination, that he will have the opportunity to witness change just as transformational, and more,” he said. “It is needed.” **Severin Carrell**



Death of Queen Elizabeth II 1926–2022

Protesters' arrests a cause for alarm, say civil liberties campaigners

Ben Quinn

Civil liberties campaigners have expressed alarm about the response of police to anti-monarchy protesters amid a number of incidents, the latest of which included the arrest of a man in Edinburgh for apparently heckling Prince Andrew.

The advocacy group Liberty said that new powers recently given to the police to curtail protest, and how they were being enforced by officers, were a cause for deep concern.

The Labour MP Zarah Sultana said, in response to incidents in Edinburgh, London and Oxford: "No one should be arrested for just expressing republican views. Extraordinary – and shocking – that this needs saying."

Police Scotland said a 22-year-old man and a 52-year-old man had been arrested in connection with an alleged breach of the peace shortly before 3pm yesterday. Officers had been seen pulling a man out of a crowd of people, some of whom appeared to push him, after he was seen shouting at the procession accompanying the Queen's coffin on Edinburgh's Royal Mile.

**'Cracking down
on any dissent as
disrespectful is
outrageous'**

Paul Powlesland
Barrister and activist

The right to protest What exactly do our laws allow?

What is the current law?

The right to peaceful protest is enshrined in the rights to freedom of expression and freedom of assembly, protected respectively under articles 10 and 11 of the European convention on human rights, which was directly incorporated into domestic British law by the Human Rights Act. Limitations to the right to protest in England and Wales were set out in the Public Order Act 1986 and this year in the Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Act (PCSC).

On what grounds have arrests been made and what punishment could protesters face?

Symon Hill, 45, was arrested in Oxford on suspicion of behaviour likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress under section 5 of the Public Order Act 1986 on Sunday. Hill, who said he had been detained after shouting: "Who elected him?", was de-arrested before leaving the police station.

A 22-year-old woman who was arrested in Edinburgh, holding a sign saying: "Fuck imperialism, abolish monarchy", has been charged with breach of the peace.

A man was arrested for the same offence after he was seen shouting at the procession accompanying the Queen's coffin in Edinburgh.

Has the law on restrictions to protest become stricter?

In England and Wales, it was made stricter by the PCSC Act. The most controversial elements with respect to protest were the widening of the police's ability to place conditions on protests, including if they think they are too noisy.

The government is seeking to give police in England and Wales more powers to curb peaceful but disruptive protests though the public order bill, which has also been criticised.

Are there any other relevant laws?

The Treason Felony Act 1848 appears to still be in effect, which means that, technically, anyone calling for the abolition of the monarchy could be convicted of a criminal offence punishable by life imprisonment.

In reality, it has not been deployed in a prosecution since 1879. **Haroon Siddique**

King Charles, the Princess Royal, the Duke of York and the Earl of Wessex marched behind the hearse as it made its way up the Royal Mile.

Earlier, a woman was charged after being arrested by police in Edinburgh on Sunday as she staged a protest during the accession proclamation for the King. Police said the woman, 22, had been arrested on Sunday in connection with a breach of the peace and would appear at Edinburgh sheriff court at a later date.

The woman was holding a sign that read: "Fuck imperialism, abolish monarchy" when she was arrested moments before the proclamation was read. The incident took place outside St Giles' Cathedral, where the Queen's coffin lay yesterday.

In London, a barrister and climate activist who had held up a blank piece of paper in Parliament Square said he had been threatened with arrest by a police officer under the Public Order Act.

"He confirmed that if I wrote 'Not My King' on it, he would arrest me under the Public Order Act because someone might be offended," the lawyer, Paul Powlesland, said on Twitter.

"A period of quiet mourning for the Queen is fine, but using that period to cement Charles's accession as King and cracking down on any dissent to the accession as disrespectful is outrageous."

Powlesland also tweeted a video recording of an exchange that he appeared to have had with the officer, who could be heard telling him that someone might be offended if the lawyer were to write "not my king" on the piece of paper he was carrying.

Jodie Beck, a policy and campaigns officer at Liberty, identified an incident in Oxford on Sunday in which a man was arrested on suspicion of a public order offence, under section 5 of the Public Order Act 1986.

Thames Valley police said they had subsequently de-arrested Symon Hill, who said he had been arrested for shouting, "Who elected him?" when the proclamation of the new king was read out in Oxford.

Hill, 45, said he had come across the event by chance as he walked home from church. The history tutor said that after he shouted the words, some people nearby told him to "shut up" and he responded by saying: "A head of state has been imposed on us without our consent."

Beck said: "The number of cases we have seen in the last couple of days comes at a time when the police have just been given a bunch of new powers, which range from being able to impose conditions on public assemblies and moving protests, or acting in the case of other gatherings which are viewed to have created lots of noise."

"Given the context we are in at the moment, and where the landscape for protest is really being shrunk continually, it's not surprising that the police are interpreting certain pieces of legislation in a completely warped way," she said, adding that the police also had a duty to facilitate protest.

Responding to the Guardian, the Metropolitan police said: "People have the right to protest. We urge those who want to, to do so with the dignity and respect that is expected during this significant period of reflection."



Security Queen's funeral an 'absolutely frightening' challenge for authorities

Jamie Grierson

The Queen's funeral and lying in state presents the biggest security challenge of its kind the UK has ever faced, a former head of public order at the Metropolitan police has said.

Bob Broadhurst, who served as gold commander for the wedding of Prince William and Kate and for the London 2012 Olympics, said the authorities faced "headaches" ranging from terror threats to protest to crowd collapse.

As many as 750,000 people are expected to travel to the capital from tomorrow to pay respects to the late monarch as she lies in state for four days before her funeral on Monday. The figure towers above the 200,000 who visited Westminster Hall to pay their respects to the Queen Mother before her funeral in 2002.

As many as 10,000 officers would be assigned to the operation every day, with some drawn from forces across the country, Broadhurst estimated.

Downing Street has confirmed that 1,500 military personnel will be on hand to assist in the capital.

"This will be the largest outpouring of people on to the streets of London and elsewhere for that matter that the UK has ever seen," said Broadhurst, who has recently been working with the Royal Parks to draw up security plans for the death of the Queen. The scale brought "its own headaches. It's what the Met, it's what London, is good at. But they won't have seen it on this scale."

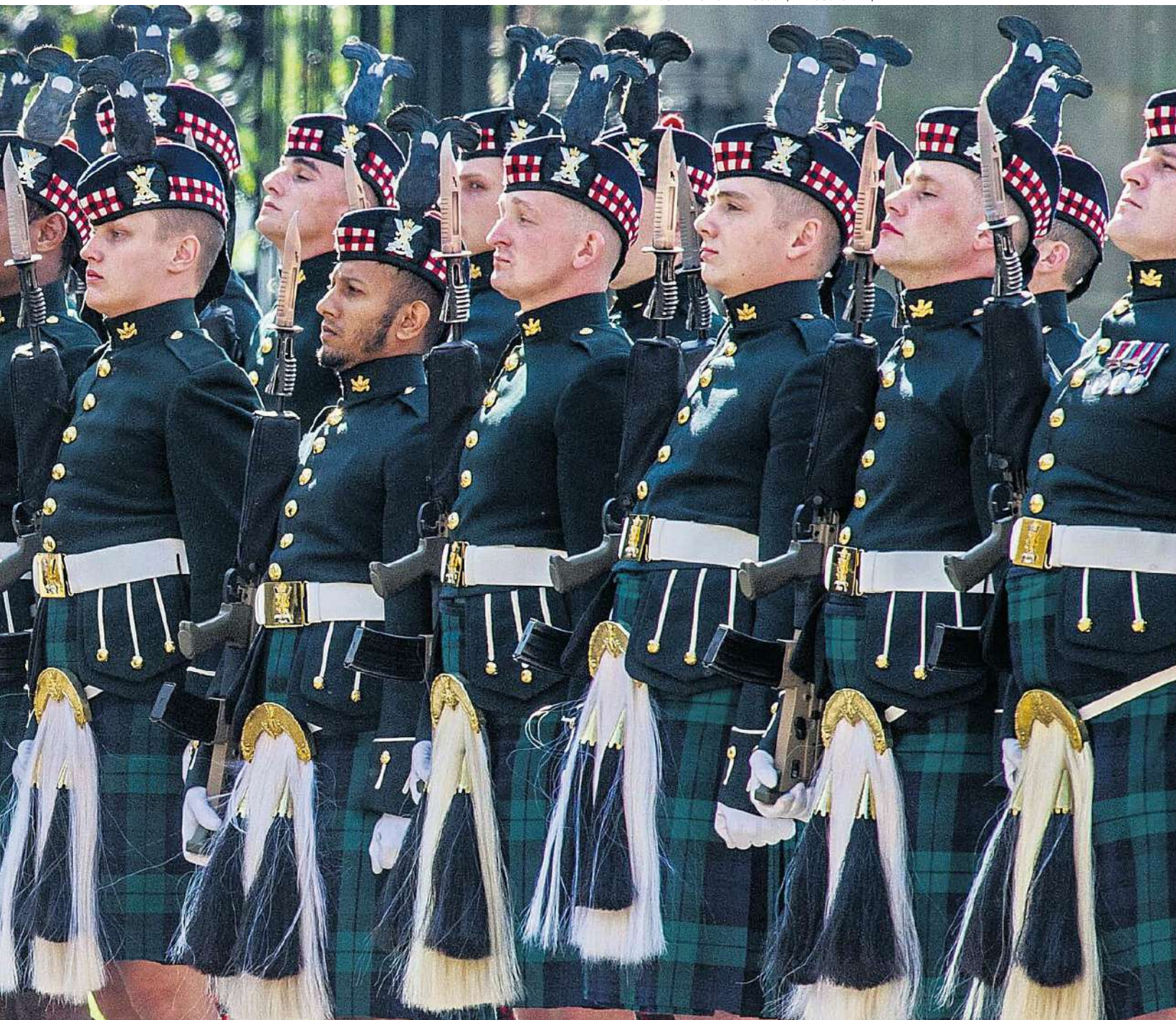
He added: "Security and ceremony are not happy bedfellows. The trick we pulled off with the Olympics is you need to manage the security in a way that's commensurate with the dignity of the occasion but without



▲ An anti-royalist protester at the Palace of Westminster yesterday

▼ King Charles inspects the guard of honour at the ceremony of the keys at the Palace of Holyroodhouse

PHOTOGRAPH: LISA FERGUSON/THE SCOTSMAN/PA



leaving anybody at any greater risk than they need to be.”

The Queen’s funeral was complicated because the “UK royal family wants to be seen and wants to be close to their public”, an “absolutely frightening” prospect for those in charge of security. The American model is you put them in a bubble, a secure bubble,

that nobody can come near, you put them in armoured vehicles.

“The royal family will be in open-top carriages, riding horses. And that crowd of however many millions that will be on the streets have not been searched and cannot be searched. It’s absolutely frightening. Everyone will be on tenterhooks.”

Protest was an issue but so was counter-protest from the general public, Broadhurst said. “The great middle Englanders, they will turn on anybody, and that becomes a security risk in its own right.”

Terrorism from lone actors, fixated individuals, petty crime and crowd collapse and crushing are all risks, which all have to be managed in combination with the security operation around the many heads of state visiting the UK for the occasion.

The former Met police chief superintendent Parm Sandhu told BBC Radio 4’s World at One programme that London could be “full” and that crowds and the funeral could both be targeted by terrorists. “The crowds themselves will be a target for terrorists,” she said. “The funeral itself will be a target for terrorists.”

The British Transport Police said the public would see “a marked increase” in the number of uniformed officers at transport hubs in London.

Ken Marsh, the chair of the Metropolitan Police Federation, which represents rank-and-file officers, said there had been no “gripes or groans” about the efforts expected from them as leave was expected to be cancelled to facilitate the security response.

Raffaello Pantucci, an expert on counter-terrorism and radicalisation,

and a senior associate fellow at the defence and security thinktank the Royal United Services Institute, said the Queen’s funeral would be an attractive target for someone to “make a political statement using violence”.

“Attacking the British state in general is something a lot of different groups would like to achieve,” Pantucci said. “So, yes, I could see it is something that’s of concern from a terrorism perspective. There’s clearly a risk that’s there.”

He said the most obvious risk was from so-called lone actors – individuals acting alone, inspired or directed by wider terror networks. “The plotting we’re seeing is more of the lone-actor model.”

Mitigating this risk was a challenge, Pantucci said. “The difficulty is they don’t set off the obvious triggers that authorities are looking for.

“Having said that ... lone actors are in contact with other people and actually tend to broadcast their intent. There are signals out there you can find. The problem is separating out which is the one who is serious and which is the one who is not. And that’s where the difficulty lies.”

Pantucci added: “There are lots of foreign leaders here – that’s a lot of opportunities.”

Heads of state Biden unlikely to join other leaders on bus

Sam Jones
Julian Borger
Tom Phillips

The British and US governments have played down suggestions that Joe Biden could be banned from using a helicopter and obliged to travel by bus when he and leaders from around the world congregate in London for the Queen’s funeral next week.

Speculation over the travel arrangements for foreign dignitaries at the service next Monday intensified on Sunday after government documents emerged saying foreign heads of state would have to ride en masse in a bus to Westminster Abbey rather than using private cars.

The guidance, first reported by Politico, sets out strict rules for the dozens of presidents, monarchs and prime ministers expected to attend the funeral, urging them to travel by commercial flights to avoid putting too much strain on London’s airports.

The protocol message also said delegations should be kept as small as possible – ideally just the head of state and their spouse. Like his predecessors, Biden usually uses a helicopter and a heavily armoured presidential car on foreign trips.

A spokesperson for Liz Truss said the “arrangements for different leaders will vary”, and the documents in question were simply for guidance.

The White House spokesperson, Karine Jean-Pierre, said the invitation had been extended only to the president and the first lady.

It is not clear to what extent Biden will get special treatment. When the US president travels to London, Air Force One tends to use Stansted, as it causes too much disruption at Heathrow, though for Biden’s visit last year it used RAF Mildenhall in Suffolk.

According to Politico, one London-based foreign ambassador said in a WhatsApp message on Sunday: “Can you imagine Joe Biden on the bus?”

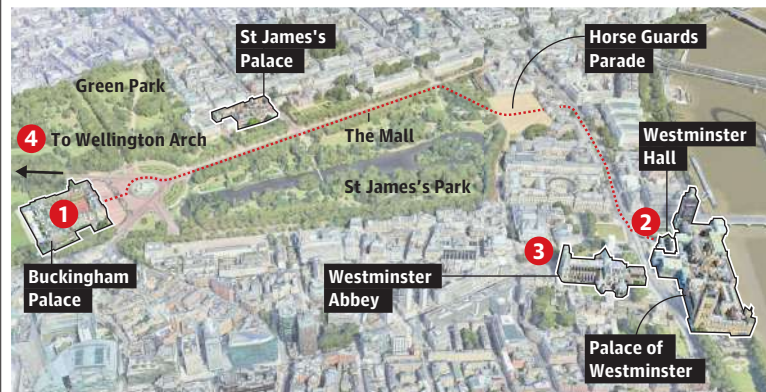
Timothy Miller, a security specialist, was blunter still. “The bottom line is the US president would never fly commercial and/or ride on a bus,” he said. “There is a long history of his security being fully accommodated by host nations during these types of events. There is no ability for the secret service to compromise his security even for an event like this.”

Additional reporting
Andrew Sparrow



▲ It is unclear to what extent Joe Biden will receive special treatment

Key funeral locations in London



1. Today
Buckingham Palace
The Queen’s coffin will be flown to London from Edinburgh arriving at the Palace at 8pm

2. Tomorrow
Westminster Hall
The coffin will be taken by gun carriage to Westminster Hall, where it will lie in state for five days

3. Monday 19th
Westminster Abbey
The Queen’s funeral will take place in the Abbey where she was crowned in 1953

4. Monday 19th
Wellington Arch
Coffin carried here by gun carriage, then on to Windsor Castle where it will be lowered into the royal vault



Death of Queen Elizabeth II 1926–2022

Inside Eyewitness
Some of the best images
by Roger Bamber,
who has died aged 78
Page 20 →



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'I feel the weight of history': Charles pays first visit to parliament as King

Peter Walker

Political correspondent

King Charles paid tribute to his mother yesterday at a ceremony in parliament in which the new monarch heard formal condolences from the Speakers of the Commons and Lords, emphasising the intertwined nature of royalty and government in the UK constitution.

In an often personal address in Westminster Hall, the soaring 11th-century structure at the heart of the parliamentary estate, the King described parliament as the "living and breathing instrument of our democracy" as he vowed to follow

the late Queen's "selfless duty" during his own reign.

"I cannot help but feel the weight of history which surrounds us and which reminds us of the vital parliamentary traditions to which members of both houses dedicate yourselves, with such personal commitment for the betterment of us all," he said on his first visit to Britain's parliament as monarch.

"Parliament is the living and breathing instrument of our democracy. That your traditions are ancient we see in the construction of this great hall and the reminders of medieval predecessors of the office to which I have been called."

Westminster Hall is the oldest



◀ King Charles and the Queen Consort at Westminster Hall during an address by the Lord Speaker, John McFall

PHOTOGRAPH: DAN KITWOOD/GETTY

Sketch John Crace



A procession of pomp, pageantry and pointed words as Westminster greets a new sovereign

Sail on, O Ship of State ... You'd have thought King Charles would have wanted a little down time. A time to privately grieve his mother and to accustom himself to his new role as head of state. But constitutional monarchy allows no rest. There are procedures and protocols to be observed. Preferably with as much pageantry and absurdity as possible. We Brits like our history to come as costume drama.

So yesterday morning the new sovereign came to Westminster Hall to receive the condolences of both Houses of Parliament and make his first speech to them as king. And, in fairness, there is nowhere better to do it. The 900-year-old hall is genuinely awe-inspiring. It's also where Charles I was tried, though this probably wasn't the day to bring that up.

The Band of the Household Cavalry played the Eriskay Love Lilt as MPs and peers made their way to their seats. Eight Yeomen of the Guard with giant spears processed up the central aisle, followed by a decidedly elderly and sweaty group of Gentlemen at Arms in floppy hats. Only in Britain. Next up was the Speakers' procession, led by Lord McFall, the Speaker in the Lords, and ending with Lindsay Hoyle.

Having made it to the south end of the hall, the Lord Great Chamberlain scurried back down to the other end to meet King Charles and Camilla, the Queen Consort. He had a bit of a wait, as Charles hadn't even left Clarence House. Presumably the delay had some massive constitutional significance rather than just being a failure to synchronise watches.

Once Charles and Camilla were in place, both

Speakers made their addresses on behalf of their members. Their voices briefly brought us back to the 21st century. McFall grew up in Dumbarton, the son of a caretaker, and left school at 15: Hoyle grew up in Lancashire, the son of Labour MP Doug Hoyle. Both expressed sadness at the death of the Queen. They also tactfully but firmly articulated the expectation Charles should treat parliament in the same way as his mother had. Hoyle mentioned a ceremony the Queen

attended in 1988 to mark the 300th anniversary of the 1688 revolution. It may have seemed odd, he said, to commemorate a revolution with an address to the Queen, but those revolutions had protected people's liberties and created a stable monarchy. Charles laughed awkwardly. He didn't seem entirely sure if he had been given a welcome or a warning.

Then it was Charles's turn. He began by quoting Shakespeare. Like the other Elizabeth before her, his mother was a "pattern to all princes". His message was clear. The Queen had known her place. And he did too. The will of parliament was paramount. He wouldn't be rocking the boat.

After a quick rendition of God Save the King, the ceremony was done. All in well under half an hour. The more obsequious MPs and peers bowed and curtsied - Michael Gove would have prostrated himself on the floor given the chance - as the royal party made their way back down the aisle. Others just enjoyed the spectacle while wondering what the hell it had been about. The machinery of constitutional monarchy in progress? The continuation of hundreds of years of history? Or just a nice day out for everyone? To remind everyone of their places? Your call.

The more obsequious MPs and peers bowed and curtsied. Gove would have prostrated himself on the floor given the chance

'Worth the wait' First person to join queue

The first person in the queue to see the Queen's lying-in-state has said camping on the streets of London will be "worth the wait".

Vanessa Nanthakumaran, 56, said she never expected to be first in line for the chance to see the Queen's coffin at Westminster Hall.

At 11.30am yesterday, she was walking past the Houses of Parliament when she learned the line would start riverside, just south of Lambeth Bridge, and decided to wait. Nanthakumaran, who lives in London and is from Sri Lanka, said the Queen "did a great service for the country".

For the stay, she has a plastic bag with snacks and water. Her daughters were planning to deliver more supplies. Geneva Abdul



Vanessa Nanthakumaran

building on the parliamentary estate, and was where Guy Fawkes and Charles I were tried, where kings and queens hosted magnificent medieval banquets, and where ceremonial addresses were presented to Queen Elizabeth II during her silver, golden and diamond jubilees. It is also where her coffin will lie in state for public viewing from tomorrow.

The King told the assembled MPs and peers: "While very young, her late majesty pledged herself to serve her country and her people and to maintain the precious principles of constitutional government which lie at the heart of our nation. This vow she kept with unsurpassed devotion."

"She set an example of selfless duty which, with God's help and your counsels, I am resolved faithfully to follow."

Quoting Shakespeare's Henry VIII, Charles said the Queen had been "a pattern to all princes living", noting how touched he had been to see the various monuments in parliament to her jubilees, including a stained-glass window in Westminster Hall commemorating her diamond jubilee in 2012.

In the ceremony the King, accompanied by Camilla, the Queen Consort, was offered condolences on behalf of both houses of parliament.

John McFall, the former Labour MP who is now Lords Speaker, told

the King that the late Queen had been "both a leader to, and a servant of, her people" who "captured the imagination of peoples across the globe", praising what he called her "joyous, unstinting and reassuring presence across the years".

Lindsay Hoyle, the Commons Speaker, said the Queen's death had been "a loss that was felt around the world". He went on: "Our late Queen was here to mark the historic moments, such as the 50th anniversary of the second world war, a war in which she herself served in the armed forces. And, in 1988, we celebrated the 300th anniversary of the revolutions of 1688 to 1689. It is perhaps very British to celebrate revolutions by presenting an address to Her Majesty, but those revolutions led to our constitutional freedoms, set out the foundation for a stable monarchy, which protects liberty."

Both finished their speeches with a "humble address" agreed by each house of parliament, which they then handed to Charles. In return, he passed them a copy of his address.

Earlier, the King and Queen Consort, who were driven the short distance to parliament from Clarence House, their home, had entered Westminster Hall to a fanfare of trumpets, walking past the rows of guests before taking their seats on a raised platform.



Death of Queen Elizabeth II 1926–2022

New status? Princess Anne may get elevated role in the new court

Lisa O'Carroll

She is only 16th in line for the throne but the Princess Royal's place as the late Queen's second-eldest child has – after the death of her mother – given her an elevated position in the British monarchy.

As her elder brother grapples with his new role as King Charles III, Princess Anne has already taken on a central place in the period of official mourning, carrying out the emotional task of accompanying her mother's coffin on the various stages of its final journey.

Accompanied by her husband, Vice-Admiral Sir Tim Laurence, Anne travelled behind the Queen's hearse, showing her grief during the solemn six-hour journey from Balmoral to Edinburgh on Sunday.

She will today also accompany her mother's coffin on the RAF flight from Scotland to London alongside Laurence and the Very Rev Prof David Fergusson, who served as the most senior of 10 chaplains chosen personally by the Queen.

Some see the public-facing role as a mark of the importance Anne will have in the new-look monarchy, acting as wise counsel and confidante to King Charles as he takes on the huge responsibilities of the crown.

While there is speculation that the Queen's only daughter may be given an elevated title in addition to that of Princess Royal, her importance in



▲ Princess Anne and Sir Tim Laurence attend a prayer service in Edinburgh yesterday

PHOTOGRAPH:
AARON CHOWN/WPA
POOL/GETTY

▼ Prince Andrew, in civilian dress, walks behind the cortege carrying Queen Elizabeth II to St Giles' Cathedral in Edinburgh



the court of King Charles is already assured.

As she made plain in a previously unseen interview shown by ITV on Sunday, she and her three brothers will all carry the baton for the Queen.

Anne said her mother led by example and her children followed her lead by "watching and learning".

She told ITV: "There is no manual, in that respect: it was about listening, and it was about learning, not making assumptions and certainly not throwing your weight around."

New title or not, Anne and the King are said to be extremely close – they are just 21 months apart in age, compared with the 10-year gap between her and Prince Andrew and the 14-year gap with Prince Edward.

Choosing not to attend university, the Princess Royal decided to devote her working life to charities and has consistently been ranked as one of the hardest-working royals, taking on yet more duties during the past year owing to her mother's ill health. In July alone, she had 36 royal

engagements scheduled, and in 2021 she carried out 387 engagements, two more than her elder brother. She is involved with hundreds of charities and has been the patron of Save the Children for more than 50 years.

Anne is also admired among some who support a slimmed-down royal family for the fact that her children, Zara Tindall and Peter Phillips, were encouraged to live as normal a life as possible with no royal titles.

"I am very lucky that both my parents decided to not use the title and we grew up and did all the things that gave us the opportunity to do," Zara, an accomplished equestrian and Olympic medallist, told the Times in 2015.

Anne herself broke the royal mould by becoming a competitive equestrian, debuting in public competition at the age of 11.

In 1971 she became the first British royal to be awarded a European gold medal, winning the BBC's Sports Personality of the Year award later that year.

Prince Andrew Duke will not wear uniform at funeral

Caroline Davies

During the funereal pomp of the Queen's farewell, her four grieving children will be a sombre focal point at the five ceremonial events. But one will, rather awkwardly, stand out.

His siblings the King, the Princess Royal and the Earl of Wessex will wear military uniform, but the Duke of York will be in civvies. Only during the vigil at Queen Elizabeth's coffin in Westminster Hall will Prince Andrew, 62, be permitted to wear uniform, a dispensation granted as a mark of respect for Her Majesty the Queen.

It is proof that nothing much will change for Andrew now his brother Charles is King. He remains stripped of his military patronages and use of the HRH title.

As the Queen's son, he has adopted a visible role, thanking well-wishers at Balmoral Castle. He will be present, alongside the rest of the family, during the lead-up to and including her state funeral. It would be out of the question for him not to be involved. But as for any public role thereafter, it seems likely he will remain excluded.

Since his fall from grace over his friendship with the deceased financier and convicted sex offender Jeffrey Epstein, and his out of court settlement in a civil case brought by Virginia Giuffre, Andrew has disappeared from public life.

Andrew has acquired one new role, however. His spokesperson announced on Sunday that he and his former wife, Sarah, Duchess of York, would become keepers of the Queen's corgis. They will take on Muick and Sandy, two corgis that Andrew and his daughters gave to the Queen as a present in 2021, as well as her dachshund-corgi cross, Candy.

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'Brutal legacy'

Death prompts grief but also anger in Kenya

Caroline Kimeu
Nyeri, Kenya

In 1952, the then Princess Elizabeth was on a royal tour with Prince Philip at Treetops lodge in Kenya. Unknown to them at the time, she would receive news of her father's death during that visit, and the forest lodge would long be remembered as the place where Britain's longest-serving monarch "went to sleep a princess and awoke a queen".

Just two years after her visit, the Mau Mau, Kenyan freedom fighters opposed to British colonial rule, burned the lodge down. It was rebuilt in 1957, and older residents who live along the long and winding path to the lodge remembered her second visit to the area in 1983 fondly, saying it put their neighbourhood on the map.

But Treetops closed its doors last year after a dive in tourism during Covid forced it out of business. The lodge, in Aberdare forest, has a lofty presence, but its dusty stairwells and webbed windows suggest abandonment. Most people who had interacted directly with the Queen were now dead, said a hunter who worked there. The treehouse is adorned with pictures of her visits, but vague recollections mirror the monarchy's faded relevance in Kenya.

After the announcement of

► Elizabeth and Philip were in Kenya in 1952 when her father, George VI, died

PHOTOGRAPH: KEYSTONE/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY



the Queen's death on Thursday, however, reactions in Kenya were swift. The country's leaders paid tribute, with messages expressing "great sorrow and a deep sense of loss", hailing a "towering icon of selfless service to humanity" and lauding her "admirable" leadership of the Commonwealth.

Kenya's president, Uhuru Kenyatta, ordered four days of mourning as news of the Queen's death made the front pages of major local papers and dominated conversations online. But many on the streets in Nairobi were indifferent to or unaware of the news. To a number of younger Kenyans, she was a distant figure, better known through fictional portrayals of her in TV series such as *The Crown*.

A wave of criticism also flooded online spaces. During her reign, British soldiers committed widespread atrocities against Kenyans at the height of the Mau Mau uprising between 1952 and 1960. An estimated 1.5 million people were forced into detention camps where they were subjected to torture, rape and other



▲ Residents of Nairobi's Kibera slum reading about the death of Queen Elizabeth II in a Kenyan newspaper

PHOTOGRAPH: DONWILSON ODHIAMBO/GETTY

violations. Reports later showed the British made concerted efforts to destroy and conceal official records of their brutal crackdowns.

Observers say the erasure of history had consequences stretching to the present. "I don't

remember learning about the ills of the colonial empire," said Dr Njoki Wamai, an assistant professor in politics and international relations at the United States International University-Africa. "Many of us have had to educate ourselves in public spaces, and because of the legacy of colonial education in Kenya, the Queen has been venerated and treated as an iconic figure."

Even so, harrowing tales of

British colonial rule have been passed on through generations. "When you sit with your grandparents and they tell you their stories, the pain is almost tangible. You can feel it," said Nyambura Maina. "I refuse to centre the pain others are feeling over the pain our people went through."

Kikonde Mwamburi, 33, said: "Death should not be used to sanitise her brutal legacy. I'm glad this obtuse culture is being questioned by younger generations."

Rather than pay tribute to the Queen, a number of Kenyans chose to honour the independence movement. The words "Mau Mau" and "Dedan Kimathi" (the leader of the uprising) trended through the early hours of the morning.

Still, public sentiment was in stark contrast with the high praise from the country's leadership. "Political elites benefited from the empire either through political or economic power," said Wamai. She believes the British legacy of violence is played down for economic reasons.

Kenya has strong economic and trade ties with the UK and is a part of the Commonwealth, membership of which bolsters countries' lobbying capacity and provides business and education opportunities. But its geopolitical relevance has been challenged in recent years, and King Charles III will be pressed to strengthen ties with Commonwealth countries and solidify Britain's soft power. In March, the royal family's efforts to do so were subverted in Jamaica, after calls for slavery reparations and an apology for crimes against humanity.

The Queen maintained strong relations with Commonwealth leaders over her 70-year reign, including many of Kenya's presidents. Experts say King Charles may face an exacting task in sustaining those ties amid criticism of the British empire in former colonies around the globe, and that he can be expected to face growing calls to address colonial injustices.

All change? Accession may boost republican sentiment

Archie Bland

The Queen was head of state for 32 countries during her 70-year reign although, by the time of her death, just 14 other than the UK remained. And while Barbados's decision to become a republic last year was the first such exit in almost 30 years, the accession of Charles III provides a natural moment for many of his subjects across the Commonwealth to ask if the time is right to install a less remote head of state.

Change under way

Antigua and Barbuda, Jamaica, St Vincent and the Grenadines
The prime minister of Antigua and Barbuda, Gaston Browne, said on

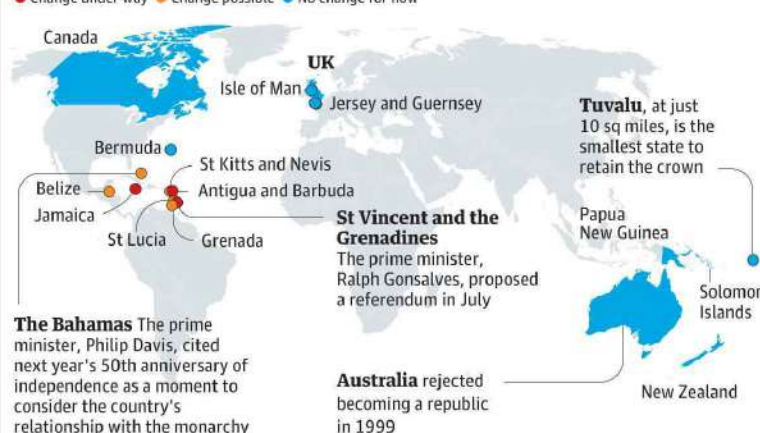
Saturday his plan for a referendum was "not an act of hostility but 'the final step to complete that circle of independence'". Any change would require a two-thirds majority.

The situation appears more straightforward in Jamaica, where a simple majority would be enough - a threshold polls suggest would probably be met. The prime minister, Andrew Holness, said last year: "There is no question that Jamaica has to become a republic."

In St Vincent and the Grenadines, where protesters called for slave trade reparations during a visit by the Earl and Countess of Wessex this year, the prime minister, Ralph Gonsalves, proposed a referendum in July but said it could only go ahead with bipartisan support. Again, the requirement for a

Countries and territories where the British monarch is head of state

● Change under way ● Change possible ● No change for now



two-thirds majority is a significant barrier to the monarchy's removal.

Change possible

The Bahamas, Belize, Grenada, St Kitts and Nevis, St Lucia
Other Caribbean countries have active republican movements and the support of senior politicians but

have not seen movement recently. Again, the threshold for change is a crucial question: the Bahamas, St Kitts and Nevis and St Lucia all require a simple majority, while Grenada requires a two-thirds vote. Belize is the only Caribbean country where the King could be removed by a parliamentary vote alone.

Local political dynamics are also a factor. In the Bahamas, the prime minister, Philip "Brave" Davis, has cited next year's 50th anniversary of independence as a natural moment to consider the role of the monarchy. Meanwhile, in Grenada, Arley Gill, the chairman of the National Reparations Committee, said in June that ordinary people "have no reservations" about becoming a republic.

No change for now

Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu

Countries where the legacy of the slave trade is less salient in contemporary politics have shown significantly less appetite for change. Leaders in Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, and Tuvalu have all reiterated their support for the monarchy in recent days. Republicanism is popular in Australia, Canada and New Zealand in principle, but well down the political agenda - at least for now.

Former Bond taken off music tour after 'creepy' comments

Caitlin Cassidy

The former James Bond star George Lazenby has been forced to apologise for “creepy” and “homophobic” comments made during an onstage interview in Australia at the weekend.

Lazenby, who played the secret agent 007 in *On Her Majesty's Secret Service*, was part of a performance titled *The Music of James Bond* at Perth Concert Hall on Saturday evening. It was the third performance of a national tour.

The 83-year-old Australian actor has been removed from the last leg of the concert tour after the tribute to the film franchise descended into uncomfortable territory, causing a major backlash.

Attendees took offence over



▲ George Lazenby and Diana Rigg in *On Her Majesty's Secret Service*. He only played James Bond once PHOTOGRAPH: DANJAQ/EON/UA/KOBAL/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK

references to sexual conquests, poor language and “homophobic” comments about the LGBTQ+ community at the family friendly event.

“I am sorry and saddened to hear that my stories in Perth on Saturday might have offended some people,” he said in a statement. “It was never my intention to make hurtful or homophobic comments and I am truly sorry if my stories that I have shared many times were taken that way.”

Theatre producer Concertworks said it was “extremely saddened and disappointed” by Lazenby’s

“language, comments and recollections” throughout the performance.

Special counsel Aaron Kernaghan confirmed the final show, scheduled to take place at Melbourne’s Hamer Hall on Saturday, would continue without the actor present after complaints from audience members.

“These were his personal views and there is no excuse for this in today’s society. They do not reflect the views of Concertworks,” he said.

Melbourne Arts Centre executive director of performing arts, Melanie Smith, said the company supported

the decision to remove Lazenby from the Hamer Hall concert.

Lazenby said he only ever wished to “share some stories” and “entertain”.

He said: “I personally have friends within my close circle who are gay and I would never wish to offend anyone,” he said. “Having been surrounded by strong women all my life, I have always admired and respected women and their wishes.”

Classical music fans welcomed Concertworks’ move to cancel Lazenby’s spot. “Thank you for ... this apology, his comments were frankly disgusting and have no place,” one social media user wrote. “What despicable behaviour for all the time and effort you put in to promote,” another user commented.

Lazenby was accompanied on stage by the West Australian Symphony Orchestra. It was the third performance on the Australian tour, after shows in Sydney and Adelaide.

Born in Goulburn, New South Wales, Lazenby was catapulted to fame when he landed the role as Ian Fleming’s James Bond in 1969 with no prior acting experience, taking over the from the original 007, Sean Connery. Lazenby declined to return in future Bond films and experienced what he described as a period of ostracisation from the film industry before playing leading roles in *Gettysburg* and *The Man from Hong Kong*.

Man jailed for life over machete attack on tube

PA Media

A man has been imprisoned for life after carrying out a machete attack on a random passenger on a tube train in London.

Passengers fled through two carriages when Ricky Morgan launched an unprovoked assault on James Porritt on the Jubilee line in July last year. Morgan, 35, was heard to say: “This is not a terror attack. I only want him.”

Porritt had told jurors it was like a “horror movie”. The incident, which was captured on CCTV, lasted for 20 minutes before Morgan was confronted by police and dropped the machete. Porritt suffered a severe injury to his right hand as well as bone-deep cuts to his head and shin.

Morgan denied attempted murder on grounds of insanity but was found guilty by a jury at the Old Bailey in May. He was also convicted of possessing a machete and a lock knife.

Judge Hillen jailed Morgan for life yesterday with a minimum term of 16 years.

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EU says it will cut checks on lorries in Northern Ireland

Lisa O'Carroll

Brexit correspondent

The EU has initiated a fresh attempt to end the Northern Ireland Brexit dispute with the UK, with a proposal to reduce checks on goods crossing the Irish Sea to just “a couple of lorries” a day.

Maroš Šefčovič, the EU's chief Brexit negotiator, said physical checks would be made only “when there is a reasonable suspicion of illegal trade smuggling, illegal drugs, dangerous toys or poisoned food”.

The move was described by the Irish taoiseach, Micheál Martin, as evidence of “further solutions” and “flexibility” in Brussels. “I spoke with the British PM late last week. It was a

preliminary discussion. We will meet again on these issues,” he said.

Hopes of talks being renewed after a nine-month gap were fuelled by the arrival of the new prime minister, Liz Truss, last week.

But any diplomacy beyond the prime ministers speaking by phone was paused following the death of the Queen last Thursday, and is unlikely to resume before the 10-day period of mourning is over.

Šefčovič told the Financial Times it would mean there was almost no difference between the UK's demand for “no checks” and the EU's offer of “minimum checks, done in an invisible manner”.

Martin said: “I do believe genuinely there's a view across that we should do everything we can to

resolve this issue.” He added that the “European Union and the UK really should sort this out so that we can focus on the bigger issues geopolitically that are facing the EU and UK, who are good partners on these more fundamental issues”.

He said what Šefčovič was demonstrating was “his flexibility, his desire to be solution-driven, and what you're witnessing this morning is further solutions, proposed ideas around resolving the protocol issue”.

In an echo of the “alternative arrangements” once mooted by the Eurosceptic wing of the Conservative party, Šefčovič said the border between Great Britain and Northern Ireland would be made invisible if the EU had real-time access to data on goods entering NI to enable officials

to stop suspicious vehicles only. UK sources have this year complained that they have built a system to give access to such data to the EU, but Brussels has yet to use it.

They have also complained that half a dozen or more customs officials are operating in Belfast with little to do, proving the lack of rogue activity.

Šefčovič's comments will be seen as a further olive branch to the UK, which has threatened to unilaterally scrap all checks as a way of ending the dispute.

The EU launched seven legal actions against the UK for abandoning some of the checks mandated in the protocol, with a deadline of Thursday for a formal response.

It had been suggested the UK would use this deadline to trigger article 16 to scrap all barriers, including the bar on the sale of trees, potato seeds and other farm produce from Great Britain in Northern Ireland.

But this is now unlikely as government business has been reduced because of the death of the Queen.

As of yesterday, the UK had not requested a further delay to the deadline, and the legal and political responses to the Brexit dispute have been decoupled for the moment.

'EU and UK should sort this out so we can focus on bigger issues geopolitically'

Micheál Martin
Irish taoiseach



Morning glow

A dawn mist enshrouds Corfe Castle in Dorset yesterday. Built by William the Conqueror, the landmark dates to the 11th century.



PHOTOGRAPH:
RACHEL BAKER/BNPS

College staff across England to strike for 10 days over pay offer

Sally Weale

Education correspondent

An “unprecedented” wave of strikes will disrupt further education (FE) colleges across England later this month, when staff will take 10 days of industrial action spread over a four-week period in protest over their latest pay offer.

The University and College Union (UCU), which represents FE staff, claimed it was the largest strike action that English FE has ever seen, affecting 26 colleges from Yeovil and Bath to Carlisle and Croydon, and it may not stop there. Staff at an additional three colleges in the north-west took two days of strike action last week, and a further nine have mandates to strike, which could result in even

more widespread industrial action. The Association of Colleges (AoC), which represents employers, has recommended a 2.5% pay rise, but with inflation predicted to hit 20% by January, the UCU says the offer is not enough. Over the past 12 years college staff pay has fallen behind inflation by 35%, says the UCU, which recently published a report that said the vast majority of college staff are financially insecure, with many forced to skip meals and curb their energy use to save money, while seven in 10 are considering quitting FE altogether.

The union argues the Department for Education (DfE) has announced

a £1.6bn in extra funding for FE and estimates colleges already have an extra £400m to spend on staff compared with 2019-20.

“Inflation is soaring and college bosses have more money at their disposal than they have had in years, yet they are refusing to protect their staff from the cost-of-living crisis,” said the UCU general secretary, Jo Grady.

College leaders say much of the additional money has already been eaten up by inflation and rising energy bills.

David Hughes, AoC chief executive, agreed staff deserved more pay but the money was just not available.

Officer who fired the shot that killed Chris Kaba is suspended

Sophie Zeldin-O'Neill

The officer who fired the shot that killed 24-year-old Chris Kaba has been suspended from frontline duties, the Metropolitan police has confirmed in a statement.

The unarmed man was shot dead by police in Streatham Hill, south London, last Monday night. Kaba was driving a vehicle which was stopped following the activation of an automatic number plate recognition camera, which indicated the car had been linked to a firearms offence in the previous days.

A chase ensued and he was killed by a single shot fired through the driver's side of the car's windscreen.

The Independent office for Police Conduct (IOPC) has since launched a homicide investigation into Kaba's death. It came after two London MPs both joined calls from campaigners and Kaba's family for the officer to be disciplined.

Bell Ribeiro-Addy, the MP for Streatham, and Harriet Harman, the MP for Camberwell and Peckham, signed a letter calling it “incomprehensible” that the officer had not been disciplined.

Hundreds marched on parliament on Saturday demanding justice for Kaba, who was a drill rapper from south London. The Met's assistant commissioner Amanda Pearson said: “Following the death of Chris Kaba, the firearms officer involved has been suspended from duty. This decision has been reached following careful consideration of a number of factors, including the significant impact on public confidence, and in light of the Independent Office for Police Conduct announcing a homicide investigation.”

“Our thoughts and sympathies remain with Mr Kaba's family and friends. We understand how concerned communities are, particularly black communities, and thank those who are working closely with our local officers.”

The Met have asked that anyone with information contact the IOPC directly - to maintain the independence of their investigation. The force emphasised that “the decision to suspend the officer does not determine the outcome of the IOPC investigation”.



▲ Chris Kaba, 24, was shot dead by police last Monday. He was unarmed

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Tony Paris, wrongly convicted for 1988 murder, dies aged 65

Steven Morris

Tributes have poured in for Tony Paris, who became a campaigner for justice after being wrongly convicted for the notorious 1988 murder of Lynette White in Cardiff's docklands.

Paris, who has died aged 65, was one of the "Cardiff Three", who were jailed in 1990 but cleared two years later at the appeal court. The real murderer, Jeffrey Gafoor, was convicted in 2003.

Paris's daughter, Cassie Parris, said: "My dad never felt they had justice. Even though they had huge support from the community, they also had a lot of people who believed they were guilty and passed that judgment on."

"The men were terribly affected and my dad didn't like being around people and kept himself isolated to family and very close friends."

She said the time he spent in prison had a lasting impact. "My dad told me he still remembered men hanging themselves and couldn't believe he was around murderers and paedophiles when he was innocent."

Announcing her father's death on Twitter, Cassie Parris said:

"I can't believe I'm writing this. My dad Anthony (Tony) Paris has sadly passed. Anyone who knows me knows my dad is everything to me. It was me and him against the world. I will continue to raise awareness and fight for those who face injustice in his name. I love you dada!" She also pointed out that Tony Paris had died at the same age as his own father, Arthur Parris, and that Tony had been in jail when Arthur died.

White was stabbed more than 50 times. Paris, Stephen Miller and Yusef Abdullahi were convicted and jailed.

After the three were freed, South Wales police launched a lengthy investigation into the actions of the officers involved. In 2011, eight former officers were put on trial for "acting corruptly together" to make a case against the three men, with prosecutors claiming their case was "largely the product of the imagination".

Gafoor was dramatically brought from jail to give evidence during the trial, telling the jury that he alone stabbed White after meeting her "for her services as a prostitute". He said



▲ Tony Paris (right) with Yusef Abdullahi - two of the wrongly imprisoned 'Cardiff Three' - in 1998

'I will continue to fight for those who face injustice, in my dad's name'

Cassie Parris
Daughter

they got into a row over money and said he felt "terrible" that three men had been wrongly jailed.

However, the trial, the biggest of its kind against British police officers, collapsed amid disclosure issues. Paris later said he felt "robbed" of the chance to see justice done. "I was let down by the system all over again," he said. Abdullahi died in January 2011, aged 49.

Chas Newkey-Burden, a campaigner and journalist who used to visit Paris in Wormwood Scrubs prison, London, said: "He always made me laugh, even as my heart broke for his plight. I remember him as a wonderful fireball."

Rhys ab Owen, a Plaid Cymru member of the Senedd [the Welsh parliament], said: "He championed justice for himself and others. Wales and the world is poorer without him."

Duncan Campbell, the Guardian's former crime correspondent and an expert on the case, said: "Tony Paris, who has been in ill health for some time, was the victim of one of the most shameful of miscarriages of justice of the last half century."

"At the time of Lynette White's murder, the only evidence was that a dark-haired, blood-stained white man with cut hands had been seen near her flat shortly after the killing."

"Paris was one of seven black men arrested. All were tested for blood found at the scene of the murder but with no positive result. Five were charged. Three were convicted in 1990. All were innocent."

In brief



Television

Grange Hill's Gwyneth Powell dies at age of 76

The actor Gwyneth Powell, who appeared in the BBC series Grange Hill, has died at the age of 76.

Powell was best known for playing headteacher Bridget McClusky between 1981 and 1991 and also appeared in the Channel 4 comedy show Man Down.

Her representative Matthew Lacey said on behalf of the family that she had died in Brighton last Thursday "after complications following a major operation for a perforated colon".

Lacey said she had died peacefully, with her husband, the actor Alan Leith, and niece at her bedside. PA Media

Police

Golf course searched for gun that killed girl, 9

Police are searching land at a golf course for the gun that killed Olivia Pratt-Korbel.

Detectives investigating the killing of the nine-year-old, who was shot dead in her home in Dovecot, Liverpool, on 22 August, were using drones and divers to search West Derby golf club in Merseyside.

DCS Mark Kameen said the search was being carried out on information the police had received after he had "promised that we would leave no stone unturned in our hunt for the offender and the guns used on that night". Robyn Vinter and agencies

Home loans

Number of available mortgage deals falls

More than 500 mortgage deals have vanished from the UK market in the space of a month, according to Moneyfacts.co.uk. The number of available fixed and variable rate home loans has shrunk to 3,890, the lowest level since April 2021.

In September last year, 4,812 mortgage products were available - 922 more deals than there are this month, the comparison site said.

Moneyfacts added that the fall in the number of mortgage products had happened across the whole range of deposit sizes. The average five-year fixed rate, at 4.33%, is the highest since November 2012. PA Media

Tommy Hilfiger returns to New York, inspired by Andy Warhol

Morwenna Ferrier

Tommy Hilfiger brought his brand back to New York for the first time in three years with an autumn show inspired by Andy Warhol that was one of fashion week's most diverse.

Plus-sized model of the moment Paloma Elsesser and Native American model and the activist Quannah Chasinghorse shared a foil-covered catwalk at Brooklyn's Skyline Drive-In, alongside the actor Julia Fox, the former Interview magazine editor Bob Colacello, 75, and about 20 unknown, street-cast faces.

"I want things to be as varied and diverse as they possibly can," Hilfiger said before the show. "I got that from Andy. I met him in the 80s, he brought me into the Factory and he single-handedly showed me how important it was to surround oneself with pop culture icons, which was very influential in moving my brand forward."

"He also offered me one of his pieces for a thousand dollars, but I couldn't afford it. Now I have a fair few."

The clothes themselves were a lesson in star-spangled preppiness, taking the rawest collegiate iconography - varsity prints, cheerleader costumes and logos - and turning



Paloma Elsesser, far left, Bob Colacello, second from right, and other models at the Tommy Hilfiger show

them into chunky knits, thick scarves and supersized dresses.

The influence of Warhol is well-worn in fashion. In 1991, Versace created its neon Pop collection, splashing dresses with mugshots of Marilyn Monroe and James Dean. In 2011 and 2014, Jeremy Scott borrowed Warholian iconography for his eponymous label and Moschino respectively.

Warhol's influence on Hilfiger's show was comparatively nuanced, focusing on the factory element of the show (guests were able to watch

models get their hair and makeup done), and the way Warhol and Hilfiger built their brands on familiar visual identity. Warhol used soup cans and Marilyn Monroe, while Hilfiger used stars and stripes.

Chasing the chimera of generation Z has been a Hilfiger priority for the last decade and Sunday's show was also livestreamed on a Roblox global platform and shown, via avatars, on a digital catwalk. "We're in New York, we're in the Factory but we're also in the metaverse" said Hilfiger. "You gotta keep it fresh."

British hunger striker warns family he may die in Egyptian prison

Ruth Michaelson

The British-Egyptian pro-democracy activist Alaa Abd El Fattah, who has been on hunger strike for almost six months, has warned his family he may die in prison in the run-up to Egypt's Cop27 climate conference. Today marks the 165th day of Abd El Fattah's hunger strike in protest at his treatment in an Egyptian jail. "I don't want to upset you, but I don't believe there's any chance of individual salvation," he told his mother during a recent visit to Wadi al-Natrun prison. He passed on a list of demands, including the release of those detained by Egyptian security forces and thousands of people held without charge in pre-trial detention. Egypt's moves to curtail anything other than state-sanctioned participation in Cop27, which is being held in Sharm el-Sheikh in November, follow an almost decade-long crackdown

on civil society under the presidency of Abdel Fatah al-Sisi, according to a report by Human Rights Watch (HRW), released yesterday. The HRW report cites 13 environmental activists, including some who fled the country, fearing for their safety. Human rights and environmental groups told HRW they remained wary of public engagement with Cop27, fearing state reprisals. "The security apparatus will probably now more than ever before focus on environmental civil society in Egypt," said one activist living in exile. Activists "described a sharp reduction in the space for independent environment and climate work since President Abdel Fatah al-Sisi's government took office", including harassment and intimidation, cuts to essential funding, difficulties travelling and fears of security forces' intimidation of their contacts, according to the report. "We haven't even thought of protesting," one activist said.

▼ The pro-democracy activist Alaa Abd El Fattah during a court appearance in Cairo in 2015
PHOTOGRAPH: KHALED DESOUKI/AFP



Members of the environmental movement in Egypt also spoke of a clear divide, where work perceived as being in line with the government's priorities, such as climate finance or recycling, had received extra support while activists felt unable to conduct activities that could be perceived as critical of the government or its interests. Abd El Fattah, a figurehead of the Egyptian uprising of 2011 and regional pro-democracy movements, has spent most of the last decade behind bars, and was last year sentenced on terrorism charges for a post about torture on social media. While the 40-year-old activist became a British citizen almost a year

'I don't want to upset you, but I don't believe there's any chance of individual salvation'
Alaa Abd El Fattah
British-Egyptian activist

ago, UK officials have been prevented from visiting him in detention. He is almost six months into a hunger strike, consuming just 100 calories a day, and has threatened to cut his intake to just water and salts.

"When I last saw Alaa three weeks ago he looked so drained. He was struggling to stand," said his sister, Sanaa Seif. "I was speechless. I wasn't allowed to hug him. Alaa is sacrificing his life to demand his right for consular access while the Foreign Office shies away from acting firmly to assert that right." Supporters of the activist say the British authorities are failing to use leverage afforded to them by the UK's cooperation with Egypt in its role as last year's Cop26 president to push for Abd El Fattah's freedom. The former British prime minister Boris Johnson raised Abd El Fattah's case in a call with the Egyptian president on 25 August, and Liz Truss pledged while foreign secretary to secure his release. The Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office declined to answer questions about how continued detention of a British citizen might affect participation in Cop27, saying: "We are working hard to secure Mr Abd El Fattah's release and we continue to raise his case at the highest levels." While Egypt has promised to allow protests at Cop27, its foreign minister, Sameh Shoukry, who is overseeing the conference, has stipulated only limited protests will be permitted. The Egyptian foreign affairs, ministry, which is leading Cop27 preparations, declined to comment.

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'Going further than organic'

Veg box firm takes farming to a higher level

Phoebe Weston

In a field full of polytunnels containing row after row of tomatoes and cucumbers, laminated sheets covered in images that look like police mugshots are prominently displayed. Pictured are a list of “friends and foes”.

The “foes”, according to Riverford Organic Farmers, are aphids, spider mites and thrips. The “friends” are predatory and parasitic wasps, lacewings, ladybirds and hoverflies. There is no mention of herbicides and insecticides, which most farmers would consider friends. Crops have no signs of disease thanks to a system that has taken years to fine-tune, says the firm’s founder, Guy Singh-Watson. “Attention to detail,” he says. “It’s good farming, really.”

This is a tiny section of Riverford’s Wash farm, in Devon, which covers 525 hectares (1,300 acres). A third of the land is suitable for vegetable production, of which 60 hectares are used for growing vegetables in any one year. The land is managed as a mixed organic farm, with rotations between two years of growing vegetables to three years for the soil to rest, when the grass is cut for silage or grazed by dairy cows. The rest of the farm is taken up by species-rich meadows, woodland, scrub, agroforestry, orchards, streams and ponds.

“I wanted to go further than organic, and there’s a word for it – but most people ain’t got a clue,”

► *Harvesting spring onions at Riverford’s Wash farm in Devon. The company is 74% owned by its workers*

PHOTOGRAPH: JOANNA FURNISS/RIVERFORD



says Singh-Watson. He is talking about regenerative agriculture – essentially regenerating nature on farms from the soil up, an idea that started as a fringe movement but is becoming more mainstream.

That is why boosting the strength and populations of “friends” is key. The team are experimenting with growing fennel next to tomatoes because hoverflies like it (adults pollinate while their larvae prey on aphids); a wildflower mix will encourage a healthier population of other predatory insects to keep aphid numbers low; and Singh-Watson is looking at planting black wheat, borage and nettles as ways to keep pests away from the crops.

He has also rented out land to growers seeking to develop a market for perennial vegetables and is experimenting with growing lentils.

Singh-Watson, who has been digging and selling greens from this land for 36 years, sold the company, which supplies thousands of veg boxes across the UK each week, to its employees four years ago, and

they now own 74% of it. Last year it made a pretax profit of almost £12m (after a £1.5m loss the year before) and £1.8m went into funding climate and biodiversity efforts.

About 80% of the vegetables are UK-grown and 100% of the meat is British, but there is a limit to how “local” food should be, he says. Rather than growing out-of-season produce in Britain in artificially heated polytunnels (which Singh-Watson calls “completely insane”), it is greener to import vegetables. A tomato grown in the UK using artificial heat uses between two and 10 times as much carbon as



▲ *Guy Singh-Watson, the founder of Riverford Organic Farmers*

one ripened naturally in Spain, researchers at Exeter University concluded recently.

Vegetable boxes contain produce that has come from as far away as the Americas, Africa and Oceania. “If we went back to seasonality, we would go bust,” says Singh-Watson. “I’ve no doubt that we would lose 70% of our customers over winter. We’re making compromises. Everyone says they want to eat local and seasonal, and everyone is a bloody hypocrite, including me.”

In collaboration with Exeter University, Riverford has measured its annual carbon footprint for four years. This includes agricultural emissions from its three UK farms – Wash farm, Sacrewell farm in Peterborough, and Upper Norton farm in Hampshire. Riverford’s aim is to achieve net-zero carbon emissions by 2030, according to its 2020-21 sustainability report.

Each year, Riverford sells 1,300 tonnes of dairy and 800 tonnes of meat, which means 10% of produce by weight is meat and dairy. “We’re at the start of a journey looking at

our meat carbon footprint,” says Zac Goodall, head of sustainability at Riverford, who believes there is a strong argument for having limited numbers of grass-fed livestock within a sustainable agriculture system because it improves soil fertility. “We’re definitely not in a state of avoidance when it comes to meat and dairy.”

There is rarely a one-size-fits-all answer to defining sustainable eating. Riverford policy is to eat meat and dairy less often, but to ensure it is good quality, with a lot of seasonal organic vegetables. It agrees people should eat fewer (or no) animal products and is starting to measure the environmental impact of its suppliers.

Meanwhile, a “silvopasture” project – growing trees with livestock grazing underneath – is being developed with 300 walnut and 200 hazelnut trees. It is Singh-Watson’s latest brainwave for producing local, sustainable produce, which could also be a protein replacement for meat. It’s unlikely to be his last.

Theatre review Vivid Scots tale of a woman burned for witchcraft

The Maggie Wall
Pitlochry Festival theatre
★★★★☆

Mark Fisher

There is something unknowable about young Maggie Wall. Perhaps you would call it spiritual. You hear it in the lullaby handed down through the generations, the words like an incantation taking

root within her. Or it’s the magic of the illicit Latin prayer she sings, a romantic alternative to songless Presbyterian Perthshire.

Such music sets her apart, as does the complexion she inherited from her late father, a man also ostracised from his neighbours in superstitious times.

That this uncommonly beautiful girl on the brink of womanhood clings close to her protective mother, never venturing out alone, adds another level of mystery.

You can see why the

17th-century locals might have been intrigued. What is harder to see is how any of this could constitute witchcraft.

In his one-woman play, Martin McCormick purposely presents nothing about Maggie that could even be misconstrued as supernatural, unless a dreamy disposition and a poetic turn of phrase count as sorcery.

What he does offer is a vision of a fearful, misogynistic and class-ridden society in which an accusation of witchcraft is a tool of control.

His story is a speculation based on a curious landmark just outside the village of Dunning, 10 miles from Perth. Known as the Maggie Wall memorial, this pile of stones

is said to be the grave of a woman burned as a witch in 1657, although the historical record is poor.

Far more likely than Maggie consorting with the devil, McCormick suggests, is a sexual assault by the son of a laird in an era of Reformation intolerance.



▲ *Blythe Jandoo plays Maggie, a young woman accused of witchcraft*

There is even less reason to suspect this poor woman of witchcraft than there is the attention-seeking girls in Arthur Miller’s *The Crucible* or the fantasising Janet Horne in Rona Munro’s *The Last Witch*.

The playwright is not the first to lay claim to this territory, but he does so with a vivid eye and an earthy Scots idiom that holds the attention.

This is especially the case in Amy Liptrott’s studio production in which an excellent Blythe Jandoo captures the bewilderment of a woman who is as morally certain as she is naive. That she is such a life force makes her helplessness all the more sad.

Until 29 September

World

Russia launches airstrikes in retaliation for Ukrainian forces' advance in Kharkiv

Dan Sabbagh

Defence and security editor

Ukraine's forces have continued to press their counterattack in Kharkiv, seeking to take control of almost all of the province, as Russia launched dozens of air and missile strikes on power plants and other locations in apparent retaliation for Kyiv's success.

Ukraine's troops headed north, reportedly recapturing towns all the way to the Russian border, and a video circulated of a Ukrainian soldier at the centre of the city of Izium as the week-long counteroffensive in the north-east continues.

The governor of the Kharkiv region, Oleh Synehubov, said the "enemy hastily abandons its positions and flees deep into the previously occupied territories" and that "in some areas of the front, our defenders reached the state border".

Russia responded by launching missile strikes that cut electricity and water supplies in Kharkiv city for a second time in less than 24 hours, just after authorities had restored 80% of the utilities cut overnight.

Ukraine also said Russia had engaged in 18 missile and 39 airstrikes overnight. At least four civilians were killed and 11 others wounded in Russian attacks in nine regions, the presidential office in Kyiv added.

A Ukrainian MP, Inna Sovsun, said four "corpses with signs of torture" had been found by war crime investigators in one newly liberated village in the Kharkiv region. Other corpses of civilians were being recovered after Russian troops had deserted the area, she added.

An official in Izium said at least 1,000 residents had died as a result of six months of fighting, but warned

that the true figure could be much higher. Maksym Strelnikov, a city councillor, said Izium's medical facilities and 80% of its infrastructure had been destroyed.

In its first public response to Ukraine's gains in the Kharkiv region, the Kremlin's spokesperson, Dmitry Peskov, said "the military operation continues" and "it will continue until the goals that were originally set are achieved".

Later, Vladimir Putin was shown on state TV chairing a meeting on the economy, at which he made no reference to the military situation and said Russia was holding up in the face of western sanctions. "The economic blitzkrieg tactics, the onslaught they were counting on, did not work," the Russian president said.

Reacting to the missile strikes, his defiant Ukrainian counterpart said the attacks on the country's power grid would not frighten people.

"Do you still think you can intimidate, break us, force us to make concessions?" Volodymyr Zelenskiy said. "Cold, hunger, darkness and thirst for us are not as scary and deadly as your 'friendship and brotherhood'. We will be with gas, lights, water and food, and without you."

Britain's Ministry of Defence said it believed Russia was likely to have ordered its troops to withdraw "from

the entirety of occupied Kharkiv oblast west of the Oskil River", a retreat apparently shown on maps released by Russia's defence ministry on Sunday.

Pockets of Russian resistance remained but the UK ministry said: "Since Wednesday, Ukraine has recaptured territory at least twice the size of Greater London."

Ukraine has recaptured more than 1,160 sq miles of territory since last Tuesday, driving Russian forces out of territory it had planned to occupy permanently.

Social media videos showed tanks and other armoured vehicles abandoned in the Russian retreat. Ukrainian military intelligence (GUR) said escaping soldiers had engaged "in mass looting, loading generators, telephones, and computers taken from Ukrainians on to their cars". Some schools were robbed and sports equipment stolen from gyms, the GUR said. Russian military bloggers said the Kremlin's aim was to establish a new frontline along the Oskil.

The Ukrainian governor of Luhansk, Serhiy Haidai, said Russian troops had fled from Svatovo, about 30 miles due east of the Oskil, and the first significant town from recently recaptured Kupiansk. Only Luhansk separatist troops remained, he said yesterday.

Ukraine's goal was to seize Izium, which Zelenskiy confirmed had been captured on Sunday night. Izium, which is a gateway to the Donbas towns still held by Ukraine, was lost in heavy fighting in March.

"Ukrainian forces have inflicted a major operational defeat on Russia, recapturing almost all Kharkiv oblast in a rapid counteroffensive," said the Institute for the Study of War, a US thinktank.



Liberated territories Stories of abuse and signs of torture emerge

Isobel Koshiw
Lorenzo Tondo *Kharkiv*

Air sirens sounded throughout the day in Kharkiv. At least four Russian missiles hit the north-eastern city in two attacks yesterday, killing at least one person, injuring others and causing further disruption to the city's electricity and water supply.

While the liberation of Russian-occupied parts of the Kharkiv region has been celebrated by Ukrainians across the country, the situation in the city - which was half surrounded by Russian forces

until just a week ago - has in some ways become more precarious.

Meanwhile, Ukrainian authorities have reported finding the bodies of civilians with apparent signs of torture, as prosecutors gathered more evidence of potential war crimes.

Unlike the liberation of Kyiv and other northern regions in late March, when the invaders were forced into a chaotic retreat, Russia has almost immediately launched a counterattack and is showing no sign of walking away from this corner of the country.

On Sunday, for the first time since the war began, Russian cruise missile strikes on a Kharkiv power station led to a blackout across

Ukrainian counter-offensive in Kharkiv region

■ Areas where Ukraine has regained control ■ Area reportedly abandoned by Russian forces



Source: the Institute for the Study of War with AEI's Critical Threats Project. *Pink areas show either Russian control or where Russian forces have operated in or launched attacks against but do not control

Putin's soprano?
Opera star accused of not using her voice
Page 22

Wheelie clever
Birds outsmart people in battle of the bins
Page 25



Spoils of war

◀ Russian armoured personnel carriers are shown abandoned and half submerged near Kharkiv in one of a number of extraordinary pictures released by Ukraine's armed forces following their surprise counter-offensive in the north-east. Russian military hardware was left strewn along roads as the invaders beat a panicked retreat.

PHOTOGRAPH: UKRAINIAN ARMED FORCES/AFP/GETTY



▲ A wrecked Russian military vehicle, with the identifying letter Z painted on its front, abandoned on a street in the recently

recaptured town of Balakliia, in the Kharkiv region, following the Ukrainian advance

PHOTOGRAPH: METIN AKTAS/ANADOLU AGENCY/GETTY

▼ Ukrainian soldiers load a captured tank on to a military transporter in the Kharkiv region over the weekend, as Kyiv's surprise

counteroffensive made significant territorial gains amid a chaotic retreat by Russian forces

PHOTOGRAPH: UKRAINIAN ARMED FORCES/AFP/GETTY



the region. Engineers managed to restore power after four hours, while a fire raged at the plant. "The Russians want to leave us without light, water and heat," said Kyrylo Tymoshenko, the deputy head of Ukraine's presidential office.

Russia appears to be using missiles with increasing frequency, with at least seven strikes in the last 24 hours. After being pushed back almost to the border, Russians can no longer use cheaper artillery rounds to pound Ukrainian positions and frighten the city's populations.

The combination of missile attacks and blackouts marks a new phase of the war for the city's weary population. Kharkiv's authorities say that the strikes targeted civilian areas, indicating that the aim may be to inflict psychological pressure on the population.

"[It was] primarily a hit on a densely populated residential area. There is no military infrastructure nearby. Information about victims and destruction is being clarified," wrote Ihor Terekhov, the mayor of Kharkiv city on Telegram.

Ukraine's general staff said

they had reclaimed more than 20 settlements in the last 24 hours. Videos posted on social media showed troops greeted by cheering residents as blue-and-yellow Ukrainian flags fluttered overhead.

But while the Ukrainians continue their counteroffensive, the focus in the liberated territories is turning to the experience of locals forced to live under Russian occupation, amid growing signs that atrocities were committed similar to those uncovered in northern regions earlier this year.

Ukrainian forces had found bodies of civilians that showed signs of torture, said Inna Sovsun, a member of the Ukrainian parliament, echoing the grim discoveries after Ukrainian forces retook Bucha.

The regional prosecutor's office said the liberating troops had discovered four civilian bodies showing "signs of torture" in the village of Zaliznychne. "Three of them were buried near private houses, the other one was found on the territory of the asphalt factory," the prosecutors said on Facebook.

"Russian troops committed

crimes and tried to hide them," said Maksym Strelnikov, a council member of Izium, a major base for Moscow's forces in the Kharkiv region and a gateway to the Donbas.

"Our investigative work in liberated cities has just begun," added Oleksandr Filchakov, the chief war crimes prosecutor for the Kharkiv region.

Just as when the Kyiv region was occupied in March, Russian soldiers in Kharkiv had hunted out men who had served in the military, Ukrainian officials told the Guardian.

One Ukrainian soldier who is currently evacuating people from the liberated areas said that the



▲ Kharkiv teacher Luidmila said the Russian occupiers were resented

treatment of civilians had been worse the closer they lived to the frontlines. "The bigger the presence of soldiers in an area, the more stories [of abuse] we heard."

When Russian forces entered the villages around Kupiansk in late February, they took one local man who had fought in the Donbas, according to his neighbour Luidmila, a teacher. Luidmila said the Russians arrived with lists of who had served, and the men were taken to the regional administration for their district, supposedly for questioning.

"We don't know what happened to him," said Luidmila. "His relatives tried to go to the administration and find out what happened to him. But the [Russian] soldiers wouldn't take the food [they brought] to pass on to him - and while he was away [the Russians] went to his house and stole everything."

Luidmila said that though the villagers resented the occupation, she had seen no instances of rape or torture. After the Russians set up a base in their community centre, someone in village slashed their

tyres. The Russian officer then gathered the villagers and tried to come to an agreement to co-exist.

Anastasia, 23, who gave birth to twins on 9 February, and is from a small village near Balakliia, spent the first weeks after the occupation in a basement, barely coming up for air. It was only when the fighting stopped and they saw the Russian checkpoint that they realised they had come under occupation. "The worst thing is that my husband was fighting [for Ukraine] in Kharkiv," said Anastasia. "I just wanted to kill all the Russians I saw."

The villagers had no telephone signal, apart from one neighbour who bought a Russian sim card, and for much of the time, satellite television appeared to be jammed, leaving the villages in what she called an "information vacuum".

The Russian soldiers did not live in their village and had limited interaction with the locals, but Anastasia had no doubts over what she had just lived through: "There's no other word for it but occupation."

Additional reporting Artem Mazulin

Eyewitness



Fleet Street legend

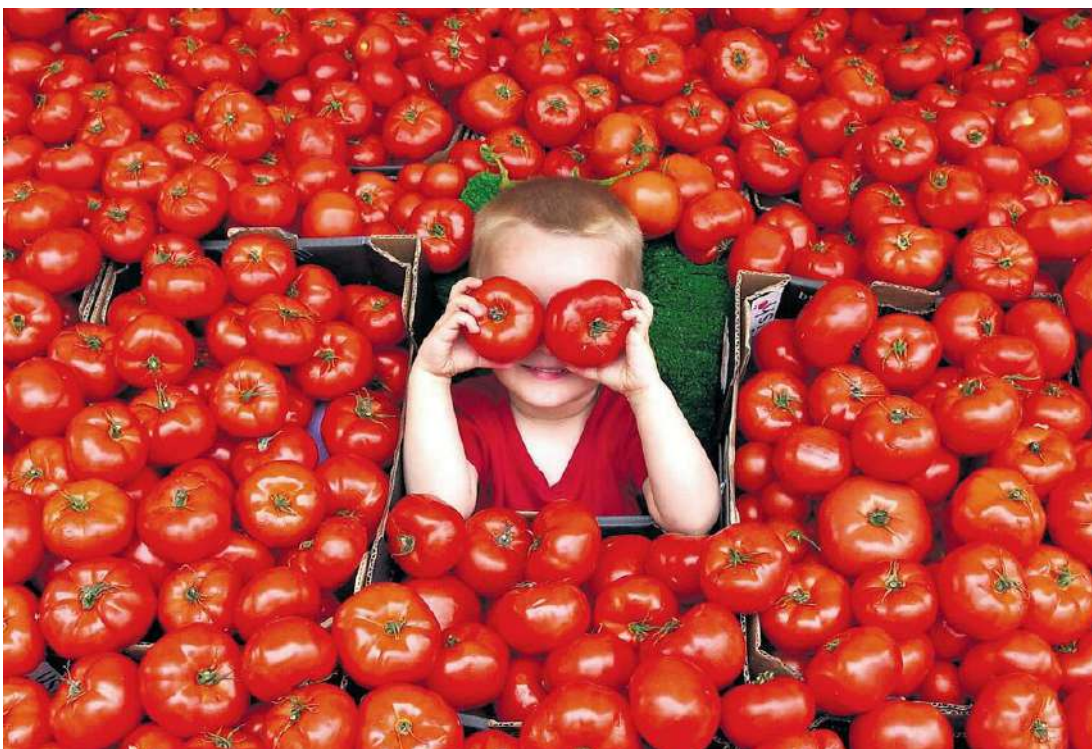
Roger Bamber, who has died at 78, landed his first Fleet Street job in 1965 and worked for a host of titles including the Guardian, where his work featured regularly from the 1980s onwards. Known for his graphic style, wry humour and originality, Bamber won Photographer of the Year twice - a double so far unmatched. Photographs such as 1992's Punch Line (far right) saw him awarded an honorary degree from the University of Brighton for a "wealth of images inspired by the city".



◀ Seen from the beach in late December 2002, Brighton's West Pier collapses into the sea. An arson attack destroyed the concert hall months later



◀ Mick Jagger and Jerry Hall - while she was pregnant with Elizabeth, their first child - on the beach in Barbados in 1983

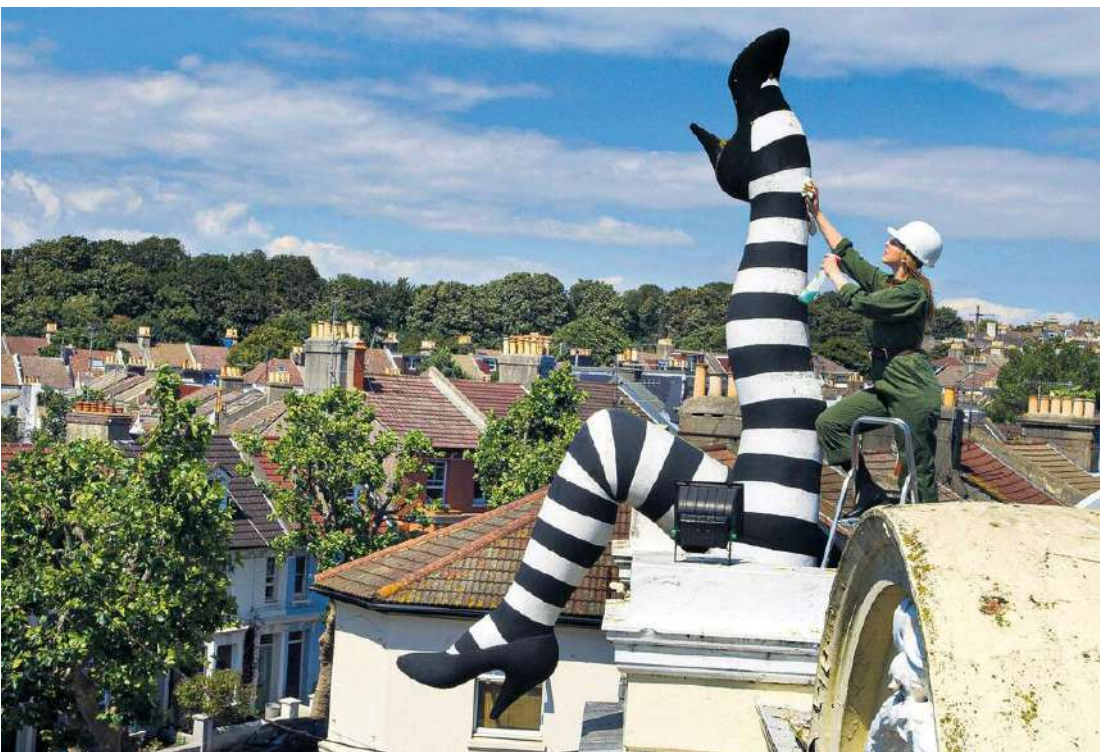


◀ Three-year-old Mason Myles Gates has his eyes on a display of English beef tomatoes in Brighton's open market in 2004





◀ General foreman Jon Blackman 'snagging' repointed brickwork on the 11.3m-brick Ouse Valley Viaduct, near Balcombe, West Sussex, in 1999



◀ A woman cleaning a giant pair of legs in striped stockings on the rooftop of the Duke of York's Picturehouse in Brighton, 2010



◀ Behind the scenes with David Bowie as Ziggy Stardust in 1973



◀ Whooping it up in the February sunshine: Max Schnuppe, six, and his four-year-old brother Ben, ride their tricycle along the promenade in Brighton, 2008



◀ Actors from This Rough Magic, a production based on Shakespeare's The Tempest, which featured an oil rig towed on to Brighton beach in 2000



◀ Punch Line: a little boy points and shouts during a puppet show by Mike 'Sgt' Stone - Brighton's last Punch and Judy man - in 1992

World War in Ukraine



◀ Ukrainian flags are draped over statues in Balakliia, a Kharkiv town recaptured from Russian troops

PHOTOGRAPH: JUAN BARRETO/AFP/GETTY

Russian reversal Latest defeats add to struggles to sell the war at home

Shaun Walker
Andrew Roth Moscow

It was not the ideal moment for a party. On Saturday evening, as Russian troops speedily retreated from numerous towns in the Kharkiv region, and the Ukrainian army triumphantly raised its yellow and blue flag, spectacular fireworks crackled across Moscow.

Authorities said there had been more than 30,000 fireworks in total – set off at 23 coordinated displays across the Russian capital – to mark the city’s 875th anniversary.

It was an incongruous sight at the end of a day when the news from the frontlines in Ukraine became more disastrous for Moscow by the hour, with even patriotic Ukrainians amazed at the speed with which Kyiv’s forces were advancing in the north-east.

Numerous Russian politicians called on Moscow to postpone the annual celebrations, but the bad news seemed to catch the government flat-footed. Reluctant even to admit that what is happening in Ukraine is war and not a “special military operation”, the Kremlin decided that cancelling the festivities would have been too direct an admission that everything was going wrong.

As Ukraine took back towns where just a few weeks ago Russia was loudly proclaiming itself the new overlord “for ever”, all Russians were given was a forlorn statement from the defence ministry that a “regrouping of forces” was under way.

Meanwhile, state television showed Moscow’s mayor, Sergei Sobyanin, giving Vladimir Putin a

tour of a new martial arts centre in the capital, chuckling obediently as the Russian president recounted a jokey anecdote. Later, the pair inaugurated a new observation wheel, the tallest in Europe.

The time when Putin was either absent from public view or meeting people across absurdly large tables now appears to be over, but the optics of his current appearances are not much better. At a speech in a central Moscow park, Putin waxed lyrical about the changes to the city over recent years.

“Moscow is rightly considered to be one of the most beautiful and comfortable metropolises in the world, every year confirming its global competitive edge, including in attracting talented and energetic people and in the rising rate of economic, infrastructure and social changes,” said Putin.

His speech conveniently ignored the fact that in the past months tens of thousands of Moscow’s brightest talents have fled the country, most western brands have withdrawn from Russia, and a travel embargo has cut the country off from much of the western world.

The disastrous course of the Ukraine invasion threatens to turn into the biggest crisis of Putin’s long

‘It is absolutely impossible to defeat Ukraine using the resources with which Russia is trying to wage war’

Boris Nadezhdin
Russian ex-politician

presidency. Already thwarted in his initial war plan of capturing Kyiv in a few days and installing a friendly puppet government, the plan B of annexing large parts of Ukraine’s east also looks more tenuous in light of Ukraine’s recent offensive.

All eyes are now on Putin’s response. Will he try to gloss over the retreat as he did the withdrawal from Kyiv, or will he double down with mobilisation or nuclear threats? There is an uneasy hiatus in Moscow. On state TV talkshows, established narratives about the war in Ukraine have been fraying. Unsure which line to take next, some guests have engaged in polemics coming unusually close to a real debate.

Others have continued the official line, however. “Zelenskiy’s Nazi regime must be destroyed,” said Sergei Mironov, a veteran pro-Kremlin politician, on one NTV show. The former prime minister Dmitry Medvedev, who has awkwardly rebranded himself as an anti-western hawk, warned yesterday: “Today’s ultimatums are child’s play compared with the demands of tomorrow. And [Volodymyr Zelenskiy] knows them: the Kyiv regime’s total capitulation on Russia’s terms.”

The problem for Medvedev and other purveyors of this kind of rhetoric is that Russia has proven itself unable to impose its terms. The Kremlin now risks anger and a possible backlash from nationalist and pro-military bloggers if it steps back, but a potentially dangerous path if it decides to go down the road of escalation.

Recent research suggests that, while a majority of Russians say they support the “special military operation”, some do so only passively and remain confused about the goals of the campaign. “Compared with the group offering unconditional support, people in the second group were twice as likely to express feelings of anxiety, fear and horror about what is going on,” wrote Andrei Kolesnikov, of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

With Ukrainians proving stubbornly resistant to the “liberation” Moscow insisted it was bringing to the country, it may become harder to sell the war to ordinary Russians – and most oppose mass mobilisation.

On one talkshow on NTV over the weekend, Boris Nadezhdin, a former politician often called on to be the “liberal punchbag”, seemed to be the one talking the most sense as he laid down some home truths. “We are now at the point where we have to understand it is absolutely impossible to defeat Ukraine using the resources and the colonial methods with which Russia is trying to wage war,” he said.

When another guest countered that the war would go on as long as was necessary to defeat “the Nazi regime”, Nadezhdin exploded in anger: “So, if I understand correctly, my 10-year-old children will also get a chance to fight?”



Opera Boos and cheers for soprano with links to Putin

Shaun Walker
Vienna

On the opening night of Anna Netrebko’s first string of performances at the Vienna State Opera since the Kremlin launched its war in Ukraine, the Russian soprano was met with boos as she made her entrance on stage. Outside, a group of Ukrainians protested against her presence.

By the second of Netrebko’s three-date run as Mimi in Puccini’s *La Bohème*, the full house cheered her first aria so enthusiastically that if there were any boos, it was impossible to hear them.

The mixed reactions are symbolic of her current performing life. Considered by many to be the



◀ Vladimir Putin awarding Netrebko the People’s Artist of Russia honour in 2008. She endorsed his presidential election run in 2012



◀ *The Russian singer Anna Netrebko at the Vienna Opera Ball in 2019. She has received a mixed reaction from audiences since Russia's invasion of Ukraine*

PHOTOGRAPH: HANS PUNZ/AFP/GETTY

greatest living soprano, Netrebko can sell out opera houses as soon as her name is announced. But since Russia invaded Ukraine in February, attention has shifted away from her singing and focused on her perceived closeness to Vladimir Putin. The Metropolitan Opera in New York pulled Netrebko from a run of *Turandot* in April, replacing her with a Ukrainian soprano. Other invitations dried up.

The debate over Netrebko has been part of a broader discussion in arts, culture and sport over how much individual Russians should bear responsibility for the actions of their government.

The soprano's supporters have pointed to her condemnation of the war in a statement she issued in March. "I expressly condemn the war on Ukraine and my thoughts are with the victims of this war and their families," Netrebko wrote at the time. She said she had only met Putin on a handful of occasions, and added: "I am not a member of any political party nor am I allied with any leader of Russia."

Others note she carefully avoided direct criticism of Putin in the statement, and she later expressed frustration she had been forced to speak out at all.

The statement drew fury in Russia. "She has a voice, but not a conscience," wrote Vyacheslav Volodin, chair of the Duma, labelling her words as a "betrayal".

A concert in Novosibirsk was cancelled, as the theatre accused her of being more interested in ticket sales abroad than "the fate of the motherland". Netrebko has not visited Russia since. This is proof enough, say her supporters, that she has gone out on a limb to oppose the war.

"She has already put herself and her family and friends living in Russia at risk by saying she condemns the war and by defining the limited extent of her relationship with Vladimir Putin. To go even further and to condemn Putin would be too much to ask of her," said Miguel Esteban, her general manager.

Bogdan Roščić, the director general of the Vienna State Opera, agreed. "Ms Netrebko condemned the war in quite clear terms" in March, he said, and as such she was welcome to sing at the theatre.

Roščić also cautioned against forcing artists into condemning Russia's government. "Nobody can exist outside politics. I also reject the notion that especially gifted people should be forgiven things lesser mortals are held accountable for. But that is not the same thing as construing a duty for artists to pontificate on morals or to have those morals approved by pitchfork mobs on Twitter," he said.

Many agree with Roščić. In May, Netrebko sang to a full house at La Scala in Milan, and she has slowly

reappeared on schedules across Europe. But she is not welcome everywhere. Most notably, the Metropolitan Opera declared that Netrebko will not return.

"She is inextricably associated with Putin," its general manager, Peter Gelb, said in June. "She has ideologically and in action demonstrated that over a period of years. I don't see any way that we could possibly do a backflip."

The public attack has irritated Netrebko, who has filed a labour grievance against the Met through the American Guild of Musical Artists.

Netrebko began her career at the Mariinsky theatre in St Petersburg, whose director, Valery Gergiev, she has called her "godfather in music". The conductor has been a staunch Putin supporter for years.

She has been pictured on occasion with Putin, such as in 2008 when she was awarded an honorary title by the Russian president. She has long been an Austrian citizen and resident, but her name was on a list of cultural figures who endorsed Putin's election run in 2012.

In Vienna on Sunday, it was clear that for many, Netrebko's voice still trumps her political views. When she came back on stage at the curtain call they jumped to their feet and whooped. Delighted, Netrebko pressed her hands to her heart and soaked up the applause.

Germany Energy costs 'a threat to the future of electric cars'

Kate Connolly
Berlin

Soaring energy costs are threatening the future of the electric car, industry bosses in Germany have warned.

A rise in electricity prices as well as in raw material costs and availability, a chronic shortage of parts, and a reduction in disposable income are having a considerable impact on the production and sales of cars.

If the trend continues, there is also concern that there will be a knock-on effect on investors who will lack incentives to build charging facilities, making electric cars less attractive to run. Until recently ownership of electric cars had been gaining in attractiveness as the cost of petrol rose. But since recent rises in electricity prices - in Germany of about a third compared with a year ago - the price differential has shrunk.

Electric car owners, whether charging their cars at home or through contracts with charging operators, have seen price rises of 10% or more. Further rises are expected, because the price of electricity is linked to that of gas, which has become scarcer since Russia turned off gas supplies to Germany almost two weeks ago.

Allego, one of Germany's largest charging station operators, raised its prices at the start of this month from 43 cents a kilowatt-hour to 47 cents. Express charging, via a continuous current, has risen from 65 to 70 cents a kWh while the fastest, so-called ultra-fast charging, has gone up from 68 cents to 75 cents a kWh.

Discount supermarkets, DIY chains and furniture stores which

had until recently offered customers free charging while they shopped are now introducing charges.

According to the automobile economist Stefan Bratzel, the development is an immediate threat to the industry. "The electricity price explosion could end up being an acute danger for vehicle transition, and we need to be damn careful about it," he told German media.

"If electric cars become more expensive to use, the surge in electric mobility is in danger of collapsing, because hardly anyone is going to buy an electric car," said Bratzel, who is also founder of the Center of Automotive Management.

He and other electric car advocates are calling on the German government to ensure that the electricity price remains below the price of petrol, which they say is crucial to the future of electric cars.

"Electric cars are losing their charm," Helena Wisbert, the director of the Duisburg-based Center for Automotive Research, wrote in a recent commentary for the economic daily *Handelsblatt*.

State subsidies of electric cars are due to halve to €4,500 (£3,900) from 2023, while buyers of plug-in hybrids, who currently receive a €6,750 payment towards them, will no longer be supported. The overall pot of money available is to be capped at €2.5bn, enough to cover bonuses for 400,000 electric cars - less than 1% of the cars on German roads.

Industry observers say they do not believe an EU reform that is on the cards, which would decouple the price of electricity from that of gas, will happen fast enough.

"The boost to the market needs to function, and now, that is absolutely central," Bratzel said.

One suggestion that could be relatively swiftly implemented would be to increase the vehicle tax on diesel and petrol cars. Electric cars are exempt from vehicle tax and can use bus lanes and parking places unavailable to non-electric cars.

In Norway, where the government was an early adopter of creating financial incentives for electric car purchases and putting in place a charging network, 64.5% of new cars registered last year were electric vehicles, putting the country at the top of a list compiled by the European Automobile Manufacturers' Association.

Germany is in sixth place on the list, with 13.6%, and the UK in ninth, with 11.6%.



▲ *An electric car being charged in central Berlin. The vehicles are losing their attractiveness as the price gap with petrol narrows* PHOTOGRAPH: EDEN BREITZ/ALAMY



Carnival queen

The American rapper Megan Thee Stallion performing on the final night of the seven-day Rock in Rio music festival in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, on Sunday, in a costume inspired by the country's carnival tradition.

PHOTOGRAPH:
RICARDO MORAES/
REUTERS



Israel warns over Iran's uranium capability

Patrick Wintour
Diplomatic editor

Tensions around the effective breakdown in talks between Iran and the US over Tehran's nuclear programme escalated yesterday when Benny Gantz, Israel's defence minister, said Iran would be able to produce enough enriched uranium to make three nuclear warheads within weeks.

He also revealed a map detailing 10 facilities in Syria allegedly being used to arm Iran and its proxies, including Hezbollah, which he said represented a threat to Israel.

Iran, for its part, claimed it had manufactured a stealth drone that could hit Israeli cities.

At the same time Rafael Grossi, the UN's chief nuclear inspector, warned it would be extremely hard to restore the knowledge his organisation had lost about Iranian nuclear activities because his inspectors and cameras were barred from key sites by Iran.

He was speaking at a board meeting of the International Atomic Energy Authority (IAEA) in Vienna at which he argued Iran was not cooperating with its inquiry into traces of nuclear particles found at three sites prior to 2013, a discovery that suggests Iran may at one point have run a covert nuclear programme.

Iran has demanded the IAEA inquiry be formally halted as part of any agreement to revive the nuclear deal signed in 2015, but from which the US under Donald Trump withdrew in 2018. Talks are at a standstill.

Iran wants the inquiry formally dropped on the grounds it is politically inspired by Israel to rake up old issues. But Grossi countered: "This is very straightforward. We found traces of uranium in places that were never declared, that were never supposed to have any nuclear activity, and we are asking questions. Explain to me why this is a political activity."

Sweden's future on a knife-edge as rightwing bloc close to taking power

David Crouch
Gothenburg

Sweden's future is balanced on a knife-edge as the country awaits a final tally of the votes in Sunday's general election, in which a loose bloc of rightwing parties led by the far right Sweden Democrats held the slimmest of majorities.

With 95% of the vote counted, the bloc had captured 49.7% of the poll, while four parties on the left, including the incumbent Social Democrats, stood on 49%. The final picture will come on Wednesday when the votes of citizens living abroad and early voters are counted.

The vote translates into a majority of just one seat in parliament for the rightwing parties and at the last election, in 2018, three seats changed hands at the final count. Evidence from past elections showed no systematic pattern in how these late votes might influence the outcome, a researcher told the local.se, while an analysis by the liberal daily Dagens Nyheter suggested the bloc had a "good chance" of keeping its lead.

Sweden's political mainstream meanwhile contemplated the apparent failure of their strategy to adopt the Sweden Democrats' (SD) positions on crime and immigration in an attempt to win back voters from the far right.

Parties that had to varying degrees embraced cooperation with the far right all experienced a fall in support: the centre-right Moderate party saw its vote slip to 19.1%, as did the Christian Democrats and Liberals, while the SD vote grew by three points to 20.6% - the ninth election in a row that the party has expanded its share of the poll.

"The Moderates party did not believe that voters would stay with the SD if the Moderates shifted rightwards on immigration and crime," said Mikael Gilljam, politics professor at the University of Gothenburg. "But it turned out that voters wanted the real thing rather than SD-light."

Swedes received a reminder of the

SD's anti-liberal traditions immediately after the election when one of its best known figures, the YouTube presenter Rebecka Fallenkvist, was filmed at a Sunday night election party repeatedly giving a salute similar to the Nazi "sieg heil". The party's press secretary said she was drunk and "it came out wrong".

The Moderate party leader, Ulf Kristersson - a potential prime minister - spent yesterday afternoon meeting other leaders in the bloc. But they maintained a discreet silence before the election outcome. "We ate lunch, I have nothing more to say," said the SD leader, Jimmie Åkesson.

The SD's status as the largest party on the right puts it in a strong position to win concessions, although the other three parties in the bloc have said they won't allow the far right to take ministerial positions. The Liberal party remains divided over working with the SD. It would take only one MP to break ranks for a rightwing government to fall, Gilljam said.

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The Guardian

Trump threatened not to leave White House, book says

Ramon Antonio Vargas

In the days after Joe Biden defeated him in the 2020 election, Donald Trump told an aide he was “just not going to leave” the White House, according to a new book on his presidency and its chaotic aftermath.

“We’re never leaving,” he vowed to another aide, says the book from the New York Times reporter Maggie Haberman, titled *Confidence Man: The Making of Donald Trump and the Breaking of America*. “How can you leave when you won an election?”

CNN, where Haberman also serves as a political analyst, said yesterday that it reviewed reporting for the book and had published new details on Trump’s insistence that he intended to stay at the White House despite his electoral loss to Biden.

The book, set for a 4 October release, reports Trump being overheard asking the Republican national committee chairperson, Ronna McDaniel: “Why should I leave if they stole it from me?”

None of Trump’s predecessors had ever threatened to remain at the White House after the end of their presidencies.

The only remotely close parallel was the former first lady Mary Todd Lincoln, who remained at the White House for a few weeks after the assassination of her husband, Abraham Lincoln, in April 1865, Haberman’s book adds.

Trump’s private bluster about refusing to move out of the White House contradicted public statements he made to reporters less than a month after the election that he would “certainly” leave if Biden’s victory over him was certified.

“I will, and you know that,” Trump said, though he insisted electoral fraudsters had robbed him of victory over Biden.

Additionally, Haberman’s book portrays Trump as picking the brains of virtually everyone in his orbit for their thoughts on how to keep him in the Oval Office despite Biden’s win.

Trump, of course, eventually relented and moved out on the same day as Biden’s inauguration, sparing authorities from having to forcibly escort him out of the White House at the behest of the new president.

Trump supporters who believed his lies that he had been defrauded in the 2020 race staged the deadly US Capitol attack on 6 January the following year, which was aimed at preventing the congressional certification of Biden’s victory.

A bipartisan House committee earlier this year held a series of public hearings making the case that – among other things – Trump apparently violated federal law when he ignored pleas to take action that would halt his supporters’ assault on the Capitol.

The FBI searched Trump’s Mar-a-Lago resort in Florida in August after agents said they had found evidence that the ousted president was retaining government secrets there without authorisation. From Mar-a-Lago, the FBI seized about 11,000 documents and 48 empty folders emblazoned with classified markings.

Trump has not been charged with any crimes. His lawyers said yesterday that a criminal investigation into the presence of top-secret information at his home had “spiralled out of control”, and urged a judge to leave in place a directive that has temporarily halted core aspects of the justice department’s inquiry.

Aileen Cannon, a US district judge, last week granted the Trump team’s request for the appointment of an independent arbiter, also known as a special master, to review the seized records and prohibited for now the department from examining the documents for investigative purposes.



▲ A sulphur-crested cockatoo opening the lid of a wheelie bin in Sydney. The researchers are now studying human methods to deter this, such as using a brick, right

PHOTOGRAPH: BARBARA KLUMP/MAX PLANCK INSTITUTE OF ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR

Humans try to outwit parrots in ‘interspecies arms race’ over bins

Donna Lu

Cockatoos and humans are locked in what some Australian researchers have described as “an interspecies innovation arms race”.

Sydney residents are resorting to increasingly sophisticated measures to prevent highly intelligent sulphur-crested cockatoos from opening and raiding household wheelie bins, detailed in new research published in the journal *Current Biology*.

The study, led by Dr Barbara Klump of the Max Planck Institute of Animal Behaviour in Germany, documented 52 combinations of techniques used by humans to deter the birds from their bin-raiding antics.

The researchers had previously described how cockatoos across the greater Sydney region learned their bin-opening skills from one another, with the behaviour spreading from sightings in three suburbs before 2018 to 44 suburbs by the end of 2019.

Attracted by food waste, the parrots use their beaks and manoeuvre themselves to swing bin lids open.

The researchers conducted a census of 3,283 bins across four Sydney suburbs. In Stanwell Park, where the bin-raiding was most common, they noted that more than half of the bins had protection mechanisms in place.

They also surveyed more than 1,100 residents in the greater Sydney and Wollongong regions. Of the respondents, 172 people from 51 suburbs reported protecting their bins against cockatoos.



▲ Another strategy to foil the birds is to strap full water bottles to bin lids

The challenge for humans is to secure the bins in a way that still allows them to be opened and emptied by automated rubbish trucks.

The most basic cockatoo deterrent was the use of a brick or other heavy item to weigh down a lid. “We have definitely seen cockatoos frequently pushing those off,” said Dr Richard Major, a senior fellow at the Australian Museum and one of the study’s co-authors. “It’s a lot of fun watching a cockatoo pushing a brick off – you almost sense the satisfaction it gets as it does it.”

One survey respondent said: “Bricks seemed to work for a while, but cockies got too clever.”

One nifty solution was to wedge a pair of running shoes near the hinge of the bin lid. “When the bin truck lifts it up and turns it over, the lid is heavy enough to compress the sand shoe so that the lid can still open and dump rubbish,” Major said. “But [it] was a bit too much for a cockatoo to lift.”

Another successful technique was to strap full water bottles to the bin lid using zip ties. Some people tried putting rubber snakes on their bin lids, while others installed spikes around bin rims.

“The thing that this paper did was look seriously at the spatial variation in humans’ bin-opening solutions,” Major said. “Some of the techniques that people used appeared to be clustered spatially ... some people would use the same technique as their neighbour.”

The researchers consider the bin standoff to be an “innovation arms race” that involves “learned behavioural change in two populations/species”.

Major said: “They’re a wonderful bird ... beautiful, charismatic, but they’re also bloody annoying.”

In brief

China

Censors told to drown out posts on shortages

Chinese censors have reportedly been ordered to flood social media with innocuous posts about Xinjiang to drown out mounting complaints of food and medication shortages in a region under lockdown for more than a month.

The Ili Kazakh autonomous prefecture, also known as Yili, is home to about 4.5 million people, and is believed to have been put into lockdown in early August, without public announcement,

after an outbreak of Covid-19. In recent days social media have hosted reams of posts about food shortages and delays in medical care. But according to a leaked directive published by the China Digital Times, censors were told to “open a campaign of comment flooding” to drown them out.

“There are no subject matter restrictions,” it said, according to CDT’s translation. “Content may include domestic life, daily parenting, cooking, or personal moods. All internet commentary personnel should post once an hour (twice in total), but not in rapid succession! Repeat: not in rapid succession!”

The “comment flooding” posts were quickly attacked as suspected attempts to “dilute” conversation about the lockdown. **Helen Davidson Taipei**

France

Bestseller sparks public debate about #MeToo

A novel by the French feminist writer Virginie Despentes titled *Cher Connard* – which roughly translates as *Dear Arsehole* – has become a bestseller, prompting a debate about sexual harassment in the social media age.



▲ The title of Virginie Despentes’ novel translates as *Dear Arsehole*

The story opens as Oscar, a novelist in his 40s, insults an actor on Instagram about the way she has aged. The film star, Rebecca, sends a furious reply just as Oscar is accused online by a young woman of sexual harassment years earlier. Oscar’s dismissive approach to what he calls “this #MeToo thing” triggers an examination of French society from the viewpoints of the three characters.

#BalanceTonPorc (*#SquealOn-YourPig*) became popular online but some public figures, including the actor Catherine Deneuve, criticised the “new puritanism”. High-profile men have nevertheless faced allegations of sexual harassment and abuse.

In her only TV interview, Despentes said her work was about trying to “understand violence”. **Angelique Chrisafis Paris**

Germany

EU legal hurdles delay changes to cannabis law

Legal hurdles are slowing German plans to allow the controlled distribution of cannabis among adults, with fears that a badly crafted law could be thrown out by the European court of justice.

Last November the three-party government led by the chancellor, Olaf Scholz, stated its intention to legalise cannabis for recreational purposes. But yesterday legal analysis by the German parliament warned against the move.

Sources said the government is also watching Luxembourg, which has proposed legalising recreational use of the drug in private while banning its use in public. **Philip Oltermann Berlin**



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Financial

Banks face stress tests over effect of soaring energy bills

Kalyeena Makortoff*Banking correspondent*

The UK's largest banks will be tested on their ability to withstand a rise in defaults linked to sky-high energy prices, as part of the Bank of England's delayed health check of the financial industry.

The Guardian understands that Threadneedle Street has crafted a new crisis scenario that will feature a deep economic recession, punctuated by soaring energy bills that could make it harder for some borrowers – particularly businesses – to afford loan repayments.

It comes as UK businesses await details of Liz Truss's £150bn energy bills bailout package, which the new prime minister last week pledged would temporarily cap sky-high bills for companies that might otherwise be forced to close.

This year's stress-test scenario will

also feature a drop in asset prices, a further jump in interest rates and soaring costs to cover misconduct. Any lenders deemed too weak to cover these eventualities could be forced to raise billions of pounds in capital to strengthen their finances.

The Prudential Regulation Authority, which is part of the Bank of England and responsible for making sure banks and insurers are financially stable, is preparing to release the details of its stress-test scenario in the coming weeks, having postponed the annual exercise because of the war in Ukraine.

The results from the UK's largest banks – which include NatWest, Barclays, HSBC, Lloyds, Standard Chartered, the UK arm of Santander, Nationwide Building Society and Virgin Money UK – will be made public in summer 2023.

While the annual exercise usually features a severe economic downturn, this will be the first time that

banks are forced to prove they can withstand the effects of an energy crisis. The central bank has previously tested lenders against worst-case scenarios linked to major events such as Brexit and the Covid-19 pandemic.

It follows similar efforts by the European Central Bank, which has reportedly asked lenders to analyse



£150bn

The price of Liz Truss's energy bills bailout package, the details of which have yet to be announced

how gas shortages could affect their business customers and default rates. Bloomberg said the ECB was expecting responses from lenders by the middle of September, with follow-up conversations due at the end of the month.

During their second-quarter results in July, the UK's largest lenders broadly shrugged off concerns of potential defaults linked to weaker economic forecasts and soaring costs, noting that few vulnerable customers actually borrow from major high street banks.

However, energy bill forecasts have since soared, putting a large number of their business customers – which are more exposed to price fluctuations since they do not benefit from the UK's energy cap for households – at risk.

While Truss has promised to freeze household energy bills at £2,500 over the next two years, the details of a similar scheme for businesses have yet to be released. The government has only confirmed that businesses will be offered “equivalent support” as part of a shorter six-month programme, although further assistance will be considered for “vulnerable industries”.

The Bank of England declined to comment on the pending details of the stress-test scenario.

'It's time for me to outsource myself': Serco boss to retire next year

Jasper Jolly

The UK government contractor Serco has announced the planned retirement next year of its chief executive, Rupert Soames, who said “it is now time for me to outsource myself” after leading the controversial company since early 2014.

Soames, 63, will step down as chief executive on 1 January, by which point he will have led Serco for nearly nine years. He will be replaced by Mark Irwin, the chief executive of Serco's UK and Europe division, the company said in a statement to the stock market. Soames will remain as an adviser until September next year.

Serco is one of the most prominent beneficiaries of the government's push to outsource services once seen as core functions of the public sector, ranging from running prisons to housing people seeking asylum. It has faced repeated scandals over the quality of its services as well as a near-£23m fine in 2019 for overcharging for the electronic tagging of offenders. The company also took a key role in the government's response to the Covid pandemic. It was paid more than £600m to run about a fifth of the testing sites and contact-tracing call centre workers, in a programme that repeatedly faced criticisms.

Soames, who was paid £4m in 2021, has not been shy in offering robust defences of the company. He signed his foreword to the 2021 annual report “Serco – and proud of it”.

He joined Serco when its share price was slumping, from 290p a share in his first month to below 90p for several stretches between 2016 and 2018. Since then the share price has staged something of a recovery, at 180p on Friday evening. That valued the FTSE 250 company at £2.1bn. Shares fell 5% yesterday morning, making it the biggest faller on the FTSE 250.

Soames said: “It has been the privilege of my working life to lead Serco for the last eight years, but it is now time for me to outsource myself.”



▲ Rupert Soames said he would step down as chief executive in January

UK economy stagnating amid worker shortages and rising costs

Richard Partington*Economics correspondent*

The UK economy grew more slowly than expected in July as worker shortages and soaring costs weighed on activity amid the heightened risk of recession.

The Office for National Statistics said gross domestic product (GDP) rose by 0.2% in July, after a sharp fall of 0.6% in June when the extra bank holiday for the Queen's platinum jubilee led to a decline in activity.

City economists had forecast a stronger 0.4% recovery after the fall a month earlier. Reflecting weakness in the economy, GDP growth was flat over the three months to July, with a slump in the UK's dominant service sector offset by stronger activity in industrial production and construction.

Yael Selfin, the chief economist of KPMG UK, said the “feeble” growth rate in July suggested the economy remained smaller than in May, reflecting a weak summer amid growing concerns over the cost of living.

“This ties into a downbeat outlook for the UK economy which could see



▲ Record temperatures in July boosted ice-cream manufacturers and retailers PHOTOGRAPH: JILL MEAD/THE GUARDIAN

0.2%

The rise in gross domestic product in July, weaker than the 0.4% increase predicted by economists

0.6%

The fall in GDP in June when the Queen's platinum jubilee bank holiday led to a decline in activity

another shallow recession from the end of this year, driven by the ongoing squeeze on households' income and a rising cost burden for businesses,” she said.

The figures come as soaring living costs weigh on households' spending power. The Bank of England has warned that high inflation fuelled by rising energy bills will probably plunge the economy into a lengthy recession this winter.

In her first week as prime minister, Liz Truss announced plans to freeze

household energy bills and provide support for businesses in a package of measures worth more than £150bn. Economists expect the support will probably prevent a higher peak for inflation and reduce the severity of the looming recession.

According to the latest snapshot from the ONS, record temperatures in July had an effect on the economy, with the weather being reported as a reason for increased turnover in ice-cream manufacturing, amusement parks, and sales of water coolers.

Business view

Nils Pratley



Centrica and EDF have come to the table – now ministers must strike a fair energy price deal

Centrica and EDF, the duo behind the UK's current fleet of nuclear power stations, have read the political breezes, sensed the popular mood and come to the correct conclusion: they're up for a negotiation with government to cap the price of electricity.

So they should be, of course. Even if the size of windfall profits being collected by generators is unclear, nobody doubts the fact of outsize returns when current forward-selling contracts fall away. The wholesale price of electricity, absurdly, is tied to the price of gas, creating nonsensical outcomes in those corners of the generation market

where input prices are virtually unchanged.

One could, perhaps, be slightly nervous that Centrica and EDF have volunteered for duty so speedily. The companies aren't charities, and they'll be looking for something for themselves – namely medium- or long-term guarantees on prices. That worry, though, is really an argument for transparency when the deal-making begins. At this stage, willingness to come to the table is what matters. It's up to ministers, if they're really dead-set against new windfall taxes, to thrash out decent terms to protect the public purse.

So where are the other corporate volunteers? Drax, as a biomass-based business, tends to be

overlooked in the focus on nuclear, wind and solar generators, but it is in exactly the same lucky economic boat. Burning wood pellets to generate power is a lucrative business if you're being paid as if you're a gas generator. Witness the jump in Drax's profits, and two-thirds improvement in the share price, since wholesale energy started to climb last autumn.

Since Drax is also the beneficiary of stupendous support under current arrangements (the thinktank Ember calculated that, from 2012 until 2027, the company will have collected more than £11bn in government subsidies), it ought to have been the first company to say it would come to the table. Will Drax play ball? Aside from a few boilerplate words about working in partnership with government, yesterday Drax was gloriously unclear about its readiness to negotiate. Not good enough. Get with the programme.

Give an outsourcer his due

Serco is one of those companies that is doomed never to enjoy popular acclaim and affection – or even, in some quarters, acceptance. That's life. Nor is suspicion remotely surprising given that the outsourcing firm only emerged a few months ago from a three-year deferred

prosecution agreement with the Serious Fraud Office related to past shenanigans with electronic tagging contracts for prisoners.

There are, though, two strong reasons to admire the corporate rescue job performed by its chief executive, Rupert Soames, who yesterday announced his looming retirement (“outsourcing myself”, as he put it). The first is that Serco still exists.

Back in 2014, survival wasn't guaranteed. Aside from the scandal with tags, Soames inherited a £1.5bn annual loss and a chunk of contracts that made no commercial sense for the provider. The company was an operational and balance-sheet mess. Soames served up a £150m rights issue as an amuse-bouche on day one, and made investors swallow a £550m

The companies aren't charities, and they'll be looking for something for themselves – namely medium- or long-term guarantees on prices

thumper the following year. Both fundraisers were essentially acts of faith on the part of investors.

Turnaround wasn't quick, but the new strategic direction has been vindicated. Today's Serco is a government-only contractor with a greater international spread (particularly in North America) and a bias towards defence. Progress from the 100p rights issue price to today's 168p has been steady, rather than spectacular, but that is roughly what low-margin contractors should deliver: a touch of reliability. Investors have been much better off by owning Serco in the period than its outsourcing twin Capita (let alone its cousin, the late and unlamented Carillion).

Soames, 63, will be replaced by Mark Irwin, who seems to have been earmarked for succession for a while. One hopes the new man has digested the second lesson of the Soames era: speak plainly, acknowledge that outsourcing is controversial and be prepared to debate your critics.

A few nonbelievers will never accept that public services should be delivered by private companies. The rest of us know that it is often a better way to deliver value for money – but we do still want maximum transparency from the providers.

Johnson & Johnson settles with women who had pelvic mesh implants

Melissa Davey
Sydney

The pelvic mesh implant manufacturer Johnson & Johnson group has reached an A\$300m (£177m) settlement in two class actions after thousands of women worldwide reported complications from using the mesh products, including chronic

pain, painful sexual intercourse and incontinence.

The settlement in Australia is the largest product liability class action in the nation's history, and is subject to federal court approval.

The net-like meshes, which come in a number of forms – including a “sling”, “tape”, “ribbon”, “mesh” and “hammock” – aim to treat pelvic organ prolapse by giving permanent support to weakened pelvic organs, and to repair damaged tissue.

Shine Lawyers led the Australian class actions and alleged Johnson & Johnson failed to properly test the devices and played down their risk to both surgeons and patients.

Women have suffered complications including mesh exposure and erosion – when the mesh pokes through the vaginal wall or internal tissue – vaginal scarring, fistula formation, painful sex and pelvic, back

and leg pain. Some complications may occur years after surgery.

The first class action involving 1,350 women was filed in the federal court in 2012, and ran to trial over seven months in 2017-18. In November 2019, a landmark judgment was delivered in favour of the women.

Johnson & Johnson Medical and Ethicon, its subsidiary, appealed to the full court of the federal court but this was dismissed. Judges agreed the marketing of the mesh devices was likely to mislead or deceive.

The court rejected arguments from lawyers representing Johnson & Johnson that manufacturers are excused from liability with respect to risks or complications that should be known to doctors, or which doctors and surgeons are able to discover and warn of themselves.

The court found that while medical goods could not all be risk-free,



▲ Rebecca Jancauskas, of Shine Lawyers, speaking on behalf of victims outside Australia's federal court in Sydney in November 2019

£177m

Amount Johnson & Johnson will pay to settle class actions by women in Australia harmed by implants

patients should expect those devices to carry appropriate warnings about risks even if those risks are rare.

A second class action was filed in April 2021 on behalf of women who received implants after 4 July 2017.

Rebecca Jancauskas of Shine Lawyers said the settlement would help support women's treatment.

Other manufacturers of the slings and meshes, including Astora Women's Health and Boston Scientific, have also been the subject of class actions in Australia. In July, Shine Lawyers reached a settlement worth A\$105m with Boston Scientific.

Women implanted with one or more of the devices in Australia up to 30 June 2020, and who suffered one or more complications as a result, may be eligible for compensation.

Similar class actions involving thousands of women are also under way in the UK and US.



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Cybersecurity

What will US lawmakers ask sacked Twitter whistleblower?

Dan Milmo
Global technology editor

Twitter's former head of security, Peiter Zatkó, will appear in front of lawmakers in Washington today, where he is expected to give damning evidence of security failings at the social media platform after outlining his concerns in a whistleblower complaint last month.

The former hacker, widely respected in his field as an information security specialist, joined Twitter on 16 November 2020 and was fired on 19 January this year. He claims he uncovered "extreme, egregious deficiencies by Twitter in every area of his mandate", including weak controls

of employee access to user data and interference by foreign governments.

The senate judiciary committee hearing is not directly for the benefit of Elon Musk, who is trying to pull out of a \$44bn (£38bn) deal to buy Twitter and has been given permission to include Zatkó's revelations as another reason for walking away, but it may have an impact at the trial in Delaware on 17 October. Here are some questions that Zatkó may face.

What is the scale of the information security problems?

Zatkó is likely to be asked about several claims, including that Twitter mishandled user email addresses and phone numbers, that more than 50% of its 500,000 data centre servers are running software that is out of date or has other known security problems, and that employees were found to be installing spyware on their work computers at the request of external organisations.

How significant is foreign state intervention in Twitter?

Zatkó's complaint says he was aware of "multiple episodes" of Twitter being penetrated by foreign intelligence agencies or being complicit in threats to democracies. An example used was executives allowing the platform to become dependent on revenue coming from Chinese "entities" that then might be able to access information on users in China who had circumvented a block. The complaint adds that Twitter received "specific information from a US government source that one or more particular company employees were working on behalf of another particular foreign intelligence agency".

How significant is the bot problem?

In a section of the complaint titled "lying about bots to Elon Musk", Zatkó essentially argued that the company did not have a handle on the issue.

Musk cited the prevalence of bot accounts on Twitter - which are not operated by humans and are designed to disrupt and manipulate the experience of users - as a key reason for declaring his withdrawal from the takeover.

In his complaint, Zatkó says Parag Agrawal, the Twitter chief executive, lied when he tweeted that Twitter execs were "incentivised to detect and remove as much spam as we possibly can".

Musk, the Tesla chief executive, claims that Twitter has deliberately miscounted the number of bots on the platform. The company has consistently said that the number of bots on its platforms is less than 5% of its monetisable daily active users (mDAU - accounts that can see adverts and are therefore commercially valuable to the company).

Zatkó says there are many millions of active accounts that are not considered mDAU but are part of the average user's experience on the platform, which makes for a poor quality experience. It does not quite fit Musk's argument, which is that Twitter deliberately

underplays the number of bots among its mDAUs. Zatkó says its does not include them in its mDAU total, but just doesn't get rid of them entirely.

Nonetheless, Zatkó's filing claims that management had no appetite to properly measure bot accounts because they were concerned that "if accurate measurements ever became public, it would harm the image and valuation of the company". Zatkó also argues vociferously that Twitter cannot cope with bots because it uses "outdated" programs and "understaffed" monitoring teams.

How credible are you as a witness?

Twitter has hit back at Zatkó's allegations, saying that he was fired by Agrawal for "ineffective leadership and poor performance". Referring to his claims, the company added: "What we've seen so far is a false narrative about Twitter and our privacy and data security practices that is riddled with inconsistencies and inaccuracies and lacks important context. Mr Zatkó's allegations and opportunistic timing appear designed to capture attention and inflict harm on Twitter, its customers and its shareholders. Security and privacy have long been company-wide priorities at Twitter and will continue to be."

Nonetheless, Zatkó has pedigree, having made his name as an ethical hacker who helped organisations identify flaws in their systems before going on to work in senior positions at Google, the payments company Stripe and the US Department of Defense.

Is there a senior leadership issue at Twitter?

Zatkó's allegations against Agrawal include the chief executive instructing him in December last year to provide documents on information security to the risk committee of Twitter's board of directors that Agrawal knew were "false and misleading". The complaint says that Twitter's security problems had "developed under Agrawal's watch". He raises concerns about the standard of leadership in general, pointing to an "extremely disengaged" Jack Dorsey - who stepped down as chief executive last year - who spoke a total of 50 words to Zatkó in phone conversations over a 12-month period.

Has Twitter misled investors?

Zatkó's complaint says: "For years, across many public statements and SEC filings, Twitter has made material misrepresentations and omissions, and engaged in acts and practices operating as deceit upon its users and shareholders, regarding security, privacy and integrity." Twitter disputes this.

In terms of the complaint's impact on the Musk takeover, Brian Quinn, a professor at Boston College Law School, says: "Twitter will likely respond that while they did not disclose that a disgruntled employee had made complaints about their security, they did disclose that data security and privacy issues were risks to the business."

▲ Peiter Zatkó, a former hacker, was appointed Twitter's head of security in November 2020 and fired in January this year

PHOTOGRAPH: MATT MCCLAIN/ THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY IMAGES



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Weather

Tuesday 13 September 2022

UK and Ireland Noon today

Sunny

Mist

Fog

Sunny intervals

Hazy

Mostly cloudy

Overcast/dull

Sunny showers

Sunny and heavy showers

Light showers

Rain

Sleet

Light snow

Snow showers

Heavy snow

Ice

Thundery rain

Thundery showers

Temperature, °C

Wind speed, mph

Windy

35C

30

25

20

15

10

5

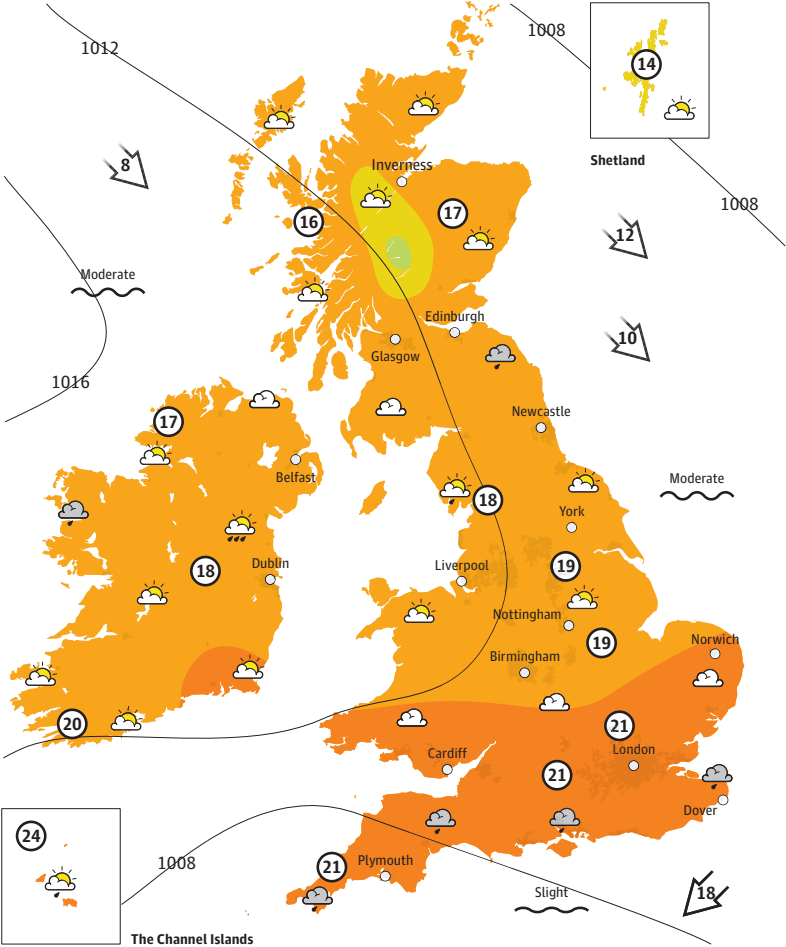
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-5

-10

-15

-20



Forecast

Low **9** High **18**

Tomorrow

Low **10** High **17**

Thursday

Carbon count

Daily atmospheric CO₂ readings from Mauna Loa, Hawaii (ppm):

Latest

10 Sep 2022

416.45

Weekly average

04 Sep 2022

416.33

12 Sep 2021

413.41

12 Sep 2012

391.85

Pre-industrial base

280

Safe level

350

Source: NOAA-ESRL

Around the UK

London

Lows and highs

14 21

Precipitation

80%

Air pollution

Low

Manchester

Lows and highs

9 19

Precipitation

0%

Air pollution

Low

Edinburgh

Lows and highs

8 18

Precipitation

0%

Air pollution

Low

Belfast

Lows and highs

11 18

Precipitation

0%

Air pollution

Low

Birmingham

Lows and highs

9 19

Precipitation

0%

Air pollution

Low

Brighton

Lows and highs

15 22

Precipitation

85%

Air pollution

Low

Bristol

Lows and highs

12 20

Precipitation

55%

Air pollution

Low

Cardiff

Lows and highs

13 20

Precipitation

25%

Air pollution

Low

Newcastle

Lows and highs

8 19

Precipitation

0%

Air pollution

Low

Penzance

Lows and highs

15 21

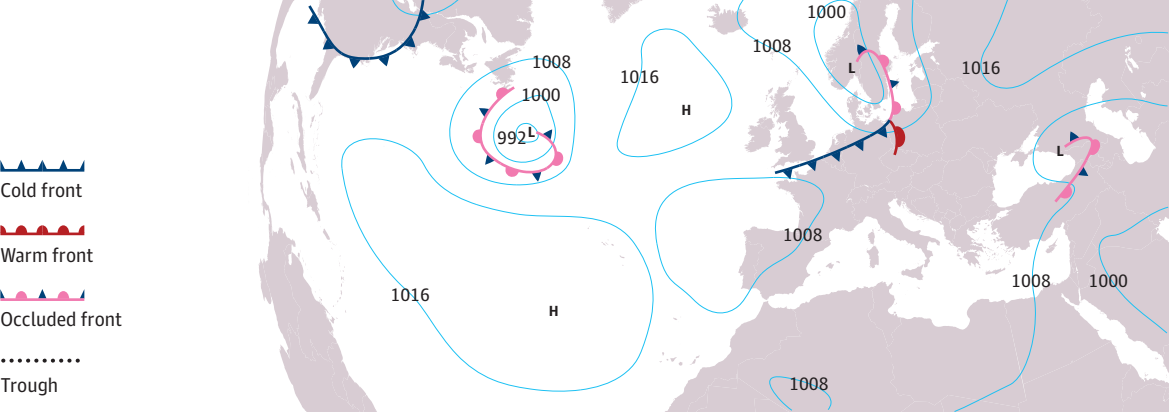
Precipitation

80%

Air pollution

Low

Atlantic front



High tides

Aberdeen	0342	4.6m	1618	4.2m
Avonmouth	1003	13.6m	2219	13.7m
Barrow	0147	9.8m	1412	9.2m
Belfast	0132	3.7m	1400	3.3m
Cobh	0806	4.1m	2024	4.1m
Cromer	0856	5.4m	2138	4.9m
Dover	0139	6.8m	1353	7.0m
Dublin	0143	4.3m	1419	3.8m
Galway	0749	5.2m	2004	5.3m
Greenock	0259	3.7m	1523	3.3m
Harwich	0219	4.2m	1428	4.2m
Holyhead	0039	6.0m	1305	5.5m
Hull	0848	8.1m	2122	7.4m
Leith	0502	5.9m	1733	5.6m
Liverpool	0130	9.8m	1353	9.3m

London Bridge	0433	7.3m	1645	7.3m
Lossiemouth	0213	4.4m	1446	4.0m
Milford Haven	0855	7.1m	2113	7.2m
Newquay	0746	7.1m	2005	7.2m
North Shields	0548	5.4m	1824	5.0m
Oban	0815	3.9m	2036	4.1m
Penzance	0718	5.5m	1936	5.7m
Plymouth	0838	5.5m	2048	5.6m
Portsmouth	0143	4.7m	1425	4.8m
Southport	0104	9.5m	1327	9.0m
Stornoway	0924	4.7m	2136	5.0m
Weymouth	0846	1.4m	2056	1.4m
Whitby	0627	5.9m	1859	5.5m
Wick	0141	3.8m	1413	3.4m
Workington	0150	8.8m	1413	8.3m

Sun & Moon

Sun rises 0631

Sun sets 1919

Moon rises 2036

Moon sets 1006

Last Quarter 17 Sept

Forecasts and graphics provided by AccuWeather ©2022

Lighting up

Belfast	1947 to 0656
Birm'ham	1927 to 0639
Brighton	1919 to 0634
Bristol	1930 to 0644
Carlisle	1933 to 0642
Cork	1953 to 0707
Dublin	1946 to 0657
Glasgow	1941 to 0647
Harlech	1937 to 0649
Inverness	1941 to 0644
London	1919 to 0633
M'chester	1930 to 0641
Newcastle	1929 to 0637
Norwich	1915 to 0627
Penzance	1940 to 0656

Weather tracker

Much of this year has been dominated by news of smashed temperature records and extended periods of heat and drought across Europe, many of which have been linked to the climate crisis.

Mediterranean countries and central Europe have still been in the grip of high temperatures this week, with temperatures in central and southern Spain reaching nearly 40C (104F) on Sunday. Bordeaux, France also hit 38C yesterday.

The heat sweeping east will see Bulgaria and Greece hitting the low to mid-30s by the weekend, nearly 10C above the average daytime maximums for the time of year.

The heat will be short-lived this time, as the first chill of autumn is expected to arrive across Europe later this week due to high pressure making its way in from the Atlantic.

High pressure to the west of Europe will induce a northerly air flow, allowing colder polar air to surge south across the continent. Temperatures across France and the Iberian peninsula will fall to around the seasonal norm this week, while in areas further east daytime temperatures are expected to plummet to 8-10C below the average this weekend.

Jodie Woodcock MetDesk

Around the world

Algiers	38	Lisbon	22
Ams'dam	21	Madrid	24
Athens	28	Malaga	27
Auckland	17	Melb'rne	13
B Aires	17	Mexico C	22
Bangkok	32	Miami	33
Barcelona	29	Milan	29
Basra	46	Mombasa	28
Beijing	32	Moscow	16
Berlin	21	Mumbai	30
Bermuda	28	N Orleans	30
Brussels	22	Nairobi	25
Budapest	24	New Delhi	33
C'hagen	18	New York	26
Cairo	33	Oslo	13
Cape Town	22	Paris	26
Chicago	23	Perth	17
Corfu	29	Prague	21
Dakar	30	Reykjavik	12
Dhaka	27	Rio de J	27
Dublin	18	Rome	28
Florence	31	Shanghai	26
Gibraltar	25	Singapore	29
H Kong	34	Stockh'm	14
Harare	26	Strasb'g	25
Helsinki	14	Sydney	15
Istanbul	23	Tel Aviv	30
Jo'burg	21	Tenerife	29
K Lumpur	31	Tokyo	29
K'mandu	26	Toronto	20
Kabul	27	Vancouv'r	19
Kingston	31	Vienna	24
Kolkata	29	Warsaw	19
L Angeles	27	Wash'ton	27
Lagos	28	Well'ton	15
Lima	16	Zurich	26

Formula One

Teams call on FIA to change safety car regulations

Page 34 →

Cricket

Captaincy has proven to be the making of Stokes

Ali Martin, page 38 →



Sport



▲ Nat Sciver bats for Trent Rockets in the Hundred eliminator when she made a typically brilliant 72 not out from 36 balls
MIKE HEWITT/GETTY IMAGES

Nat-ional treasure

Sciver taking a break should tell women's cricket it has some thinking to do

Jonathan Liew



It's fine to be sad. It's fine to cry, even if it seems a little silly because, after all, it's not like you knew her personally. It's fine to feel bereft, disorientated, to sense the floor subsiding just a little. Equally, it's fine to feel nothing at all, perhaps even wonder what all the fuss is about. Though she meant different things to all of us, her loss will touch us all. And with any luck, she'll be back for the tour of the West Indies in December.

Thursday morning dawned just like any other. Of course there had been vague rumblings throughout the summer that something wasn't quite right: public engagements scaled back, responsibilities delegated, the captaincy of the Trent Rockets passed on. Perhaps we should have recognised the red flags sooner. And yet when the news broke shortly before 7pm there was still that palpable sense of shock and bewilderment. One moment she was there. The next she was gone.

The precise circumstances of Nat Sciver's sudden decision to take a break from cricket ahead of this month's India white-ball series will and should remain private. And yet it feels an appropriate moment to discuss and reflect on the legacy of this extraordinary woman who achieved so much, who came from a privileged upbringing but still had to brave many tempests during the course of her journey, who offered us nothing but hard work and a sense of duty, and yet who over time came to be seen not just as a versatile middle-order batter and handy purveyor of cutters and cross-seamers, but as a friend.

Sciver is just 30 years old but has already played enough cricket to last a lifetime. And if she walked

away from the sport tomorrow her body of work would still stand the test of time: World Cup and Ashes wins, one of the great World Cup final innings and one of the great women's Test match innings in the space of three months this year. Just last week she needed 22 off the last four balls in the Hundred eliminator, hit three consecutive sixes and a single, and left the field looking genuinely disgusted with herself.

And perhaps from a distance there has always been this surreal, faintly deific quality to Sciver's cricket: a player who pulled off so many astonishing feats that they ceased to feel astonishing, a relentless genius that often obscured the fallible, feeling human underneath. Unlike many of her contemporaries, Sciver never really felt the need to be diffident or bashful about her talent, never shied away from how good she is or could be.

There are parallels with that other naturally-gifted English all-rounder Ben Stokes: an uprooted childhood, a player who glided rather than clambered into the wind tunnel of international cricket, a player who could do it all, right up until the moment he couldn't. Probably, as with Stokes, all Sciver needs is a break and a breath, a chance to bury herself in the mundanities of life, to cook her own meals rather than order them from a laminated room service menu.

In her absence, we probably need to talk about the institution as a whole. A summer schedule comprising 17 games in two months, in four different formats, some as a replacement captain for Heather Knight. A winter comprising back-to-back Ashes and World Cup engagements, all under strict Covid protocols. As her former teammate Lydia Greenway points out, it's not so much the cricket that saps you as the mental labour around it: the logistics of being away from home, switching from format to format, team to team, kit to kit, city to city, competition to competition.

"I'm proud that we put the person first," the England coach, Lisa Keightley, said ahead of the India series. Does this remotely strike you as a calendar devised with human wellbeing in mind? For anyone who has been following the men's side for any period of time, none of this will be unfamiliar. But while men's cricket has belatedly recognised the principle of rest and rotation, and pays its top players well enough to make those decisions easier, the rapid growth of women's cricket has created a stratum of brilliant all-format players encouraged simply to work until they drop, and to feel eternally grateful for the opportunity to do so.

Meg Lanning stepped away after leading Australia to the Commonwealth Games gold medal last month and has given no timeline for her return. Anya Shrubsole retired from international cricket in April claiming the game was "moving forward faster than I can keep up with". Lizelle Lee did likewise in July after failing to meet Cricket South Africa's exacting skinfold and weight requirements. All are just 30 years of age. We are told simply to wish them well, and we do. But at the same time it is worth asking whether the sport itself could have done better by them.

And so, one Thursday morning in Durham, Sciver realised she couldn't continue any longer. Her departure removes another of the last bridges between the old and new eras of women's cricket, to an age before central contracts and packed crowds, when the institution itself was at stake.

Knight, Sciver, Brunt, Beaumont, Shrubsole: these are the rocks upon which we built our church, upon which an entire generation built and measured their lives. We know there is a line of succession in place. We know the edifice itself will always endure. But it doesn't make the passing any less strange.

A summer schedule comprising 17 games in two months in four different formats... it's not just the cricket that saps you

▼ Carlos Alcaraz with his team and friends after winning in New York
JEAN CATUFFE/GETTY IMAGES



Tennis US Open

Alcaraz regains his freedom and finds joy on the court again

The teenager arrived in New York burdened by rapid success but leaves as champion and world No 1

Tumaini Carayol
Flushing Meadows

Just one month ago, as the tennis tours swung to the North American hard court season at the beginning of August, Carlos Alcaraz was feeling burdened by his rapid success. The early stages of his rise had seemed so easy - he won big titles for fun, outperformed the likes of Novak Djokovic and Rafael Nadal, and the Spaniard flew up the rankings with a smile on his face. But now he was dealing with the baggage that accompanied his rise. The pressure and expectations, the shiny new target on his back.

While Alcaraz put on a brave face and rolled with the punches during those events, he spoke frankly as he sat with the US Open trophy by his side and looked back on the past few months. "I lost the joy a little bit," he said. "I felt the pressure. I couldn't smile on-court which I'm doing in every match, every tournament."

The pressure he felt was reflected in his results. After taking numerous losses earlier in the summer to young players who were even more motivated to beat him, he fell in his first match in Montreal. In Cincinnati, he was outworked by Cameron Norrie in a tight quarter-final. He arrived in New York with the simple hope of recovering his joy: "I came here just to enjoy, you

know? To smile on court, to enjoy playing tennis," he said.

For Juan Carlos Ferrero, Alcaraz's coach, a possible solution to regaining his sense of freedom and happiness was simply to execute the style of play that would most evoke those feelings. They spent the days before the US Open working on Alcaraz approaching the net as much as he could, pouncing on short balls and flitting into the forecourt.

It is a reflection of Alcaraz's astounding, layered talents that he zoomed in on one facet of his style and used it to run through the tournament, win his first grand slam title and become the first ever teenage men's No 1. During his 6-4, 2-6, 7-6 (1), 6-3 win over Casper Ruud in the final, he serve and volleyed 25 times alone. On the big points, Alcaraz had the clarity to continue moving forward, saving both set points in the pivotal third set with nerveless volleys.

As his rise has continued, the Spaniard has received countless comparisons to the recent greats, Nadal, Djokovic and Roger Federer, his idol. It is understandable on one hand - some small details of his style are reminiscent of some of the Big Three. They are the only legends he has known and he has naturally studied them throughout his development.

Alcaraz has the ability to establish himself as the dominant player of the next decade

Such comparisons are also lazy. Alcaraz is his own player, following his own path, and the brand of tennis he plays is unique in its own right. The style he has built through the combination of his athleticism, high-octane shot-making, his seemingly endless skillset and his explosiveness around the court is unlike anything that we have ever seen, as is true of the legends before him.

With all that he has at his disposal, Alcaraz has the ability to win many grand slam titles and establish himself as the dominant player of the next decade and more. But so much can happen over a career - injuries, mental stagnation and even a great new rival. The landscape can quickly shift.

Any sustained success will rest on him continuing to evolve as a player, never falling into a comfort zone. He is already such a complete player, but he still has so much room to improve. Should he improve his serve and learn how to consistently hit his spots, for example, the rest of the world is in trouble.

For Alcaraz, the biggest surprise of this first title run has been the resilience he constantly called upon. In his fourth-round match against Marin Cilic, he trailed by a break early in the fifth. As he and Jannik Sinner traded blows for five hours 15 minutes until 2.50am in the quarter-final, he faced a match point at 5-4 in the fourth set on Sinner's serve. In the semi-final against Frances Tiafoe, the American reeled him back in multiple times. Each time he recovered and moved on.

During every tough moment on the court, Alcaraz repeats three simple words to himself - the three Cs: "Cabeza, corazón, cojones." Head, heart and balls. His grandfather, Carlos Alcaraz Lerma, has repeated those words during every tournament since he was still just a child dreaming of future success. He has exemplified each quality in his career so far, and it has only just begun.

Formula One

Summit held over Italian GP safety car controversy

Giles Richards
Monza

Senior Formula One team managers spoke with the FIA president Mohammed Ben Sulayem yesterday at a summit meeting, with the controversial finish to Sunday's Italian Grand Prix having led the agenda. Many team principals were angry at how the race ended behind the safety car and are insistent the FIA must change its regulations to avoid a repeat of the events.

The race at Monza was won by Max Verstappen, who dominated but took the flag behind the safety car. It was deployed five laps from the end after Daniel Ricciardo's McLaren came to a halt on the track. There were not enough laps remaining to remove it and complete the closing up of the cars and then for the safety car to complete its two mandatory laps, all required by regulations, for racing to resume.

The Formula One World Championship sporting summit had already been convened for Monza yesterday by the FIA but then events on Sunday were brought to the fore. The FIA was not at fault, having followed its own rules. This in itself was a sore point for many after the controversial ending to last year's Abu Dhabi GP which cost Lewis Hamilton a potential eighth title, when then FIA race director Michael Masi improvised on the rules to ensure a final lap of racing took place after a late safety car.

Verstappen's Red Bull team principal Christian Horner, however, was insistent after the race that the sport should avoid finishing races behind the safety car and that it must be addressed as a matter of urgency by the FIA.

"There are lessons to learn, it goes against the principles of all we have discussed," he said. "It is not good to finish races under safety cars, if they had known they couldn't get it going they should have red-flagged it and restarted. They are all sitting down on Monday, all the team managers. The president is getting involved in that as well and I am sure this will be top of the agenda."

Ferrari's team principal, Mattia Binotto, also criticised the FIA's decision but Toto Wolff, Hamilton's principal at Mercedes, pointedly noted that this time the FIA had at least followed its own rules. "I'm really satisfied to see that there is a race director and colleagues that apply the regs against the pressure of the media, and the pressure of the fans and everybody to just be in breach of the regulations," he said. "So at least Abu Dhabi, in that sense, gave the FIA more robust confidence to apply regulations."

He also, however, agreed that F1 needed to find a more satisfactory way to ensure races concluded in racing conditions as long as how it was done was strictly defined in the rules. "I think we should all sit down and say is there something we can do better but what happened on Sunday is in the regulations book, and that's why it was applied," he said. "Would I have wanted to have a last lap with a pile of cars on top of each other at the chicane? Hell yes, good TV."



▲ Christian Horner said finishing behind safety cars was not good

Sport In brief

Rugby union

Red Roses want to be 'defined by trophies'

England Women "want to be defined by winning trophies", according to captain Sarah Hunter. The Red Roses will become the first Test team - male or female - to win



▲ Sarah Hunter wants England to focus on trophies and not records

25 successive international matches if they beat Wales in Bristol tomorrow. The game is England's final warmup fixture before next month's World Cup. "Hopefully by living up to the performance we want to achieve, it helps to get these records," said Hunter. "There is something pretty special about this team and we want to be defined by winning trophies. There is a pretty big trophy to go to New Zealand and try to win." **PA Media**

Rugby league

Poching leaves head coach role at Wakefield

Wakefield have announced the departure of head coach Willie Poching. Poching spent just over a year in the role, leading Trinity to safety this season. "Having secured Super League status, the board have decided we need a change in our coaching setup," said the club's chairman, John Minards. **PA Media**

'When it all fell away at Arsenal, that really hurt'

David Dein scaled the heights as the Gunners' co-owner but opens up on the lows and his fears for football's future

Jonathan Liew

The pen sits in his jacket. It goes everywhere he does. At night, while he sleeps, it rests on the bedside table alongside him. David Dein has been in business for more than half a century, and one of his earliest lessons was that it helps if you have a story to tell. And so now he holds it up to the camera: the Mont Blanc pen with which he signed Dennis Bergkamp, Thierry Henry, Sol Campbell and many more.

Not that Dein needs a memento to remind him of the good times. At the age of 79, the memory is as sharp as ever: an Arsenal fan who became its owner, its saviour and later its martyr. The highlights of his career are also some of Arsenal's: the league title in 1989, the Invincibles of 2004, the signing of a little-known French coach called Arsène Wenger.

These are the memories that gild Dein's new book, *Calling the Shots*. But there are painful stories in there, too: in 1984, his sugar-exporting business was defrauded out of £15m by a criminal conman, an ordeal he has never shared before. And the most painful recollection of all has a precise date and time.

"Eighteenth of April 2007, at 5pm," he says. That was the moment when Peter Hill-Wood, the Arsenal chairman, walked into his office to give him his marching orders. For months, Dein had been engaged in internal boardroom wrangles over the funding of the new stadium, and his plan to attract outside investment to fill the club's financial black hole. Finally, Dein was ordered to pack his belongings and leave the building immediately. He took out his phone to inform his family. It had already been cut off by the company.

"I've never spoken to anybody for 15 years on how I left Arsenal," he says now. "I'm not a person that likes discussing negatives. But I've nothing to be ashamed of. I want the club to do well, irrespective of how I left and how Arsène left, which was equally as painful. We're both bruised over it. Because that was unfinished business. We had something really special. And when it fell away, that really hurt."

The warmest passages of the book are reserved for the Invincibles side, a team that Dein treasured like his own family. "It was a moment



in time," he says. "I remember after each game, I used to go down to the dressing room and shake the boys' hands. And Sol Campbell's words always ring loud and clear. 'Mr Dein, we've just got to keep it going.' And they did. We assembled a group of players, and they all played the same music together."

And so after his sacking, Dein watched Arsenal from afar as his old friend Wenger struggled to keep

'The board made mistakes, no doubt but they now appear to be on an upward trajectory'

this decaying institution afloat. "They made mistakes, no doubt," he says of the current board. "Bad mistakes over the years in the transfer market, and how they've run the club. But the good news is that it's 15 years since I left, and they now appear to be on an upward trajectory. The ship has been stabilised."

Dein still goes to as many home games as he can. But these days his time is very much divided. He is an ambassador for the Premier League and the FA, worked on England's 2018 World Cup bid, has served on numerous Fifa and Uefa committees. But the project that animates him most is the Twinning Project, a mentoring scheme in which football clubs run courses in

local prisons, allowing inmates to learn vital skills and qualifications. He has visited all 113 prisons in England and Wales, and seen the dysfunction of the system.

"I can talk to you for a long time about this," he says. "They've been underfunded, a lot of them are short-staffed these days.



▲ David Dein was responsible for bringing Arsène Wenger to Arsenal

◀ David Dein, pictured with his dog Bernie, wants prison reform: 'You wouldn't put a dog in a cage for 20 hours a day'

DAVID LEVENE/
THE GUARDIAN

Prisoners are put behind bars for too long. You wouldn't put a dog in a cage for 20 hours a day, but some offenders are. The chance of rehabilitation is minimal. And it's costing £48,000 a year to keep somebody in prison. They're humans. So give them a chance to be better people."

The conversation turns to wider issues within football, and it is here that Dein's views are more contentious. He is sceptical, for example, about the idea - recommended in the recent government white paper - of fans on club boards. "I don't know any club where one of their directors isn't a fan," he says. "There are owners like myself, where my money followed my heart, and the newer generation of owners who invest in a football club and then become supporters in a club. With the Arsenal supporters' club, very often I shared their concerns, but they had to understand ours. They would say: 'Spend money, buy the best players.' Easier said than done, right?"

Competing with the state-powered financial giants of the game became a bitter theme of Wenger's later years, and there is an irony here. Nobody in Dein's time at Arsenal worked harder to secure billionaire investment than Dein himself. "I could see the way it was going with Manchester United, then Manchester City, and latterly with Newcastle. We needed a master investor, a billionaire. I didn't want Arsène to get left behind."

Is that a good thing for football, though? "It's where we are," he retorts. "It's a competitive industry. And I'm afraid, particularly at the top level, money has a lot to do with it. I think the owners are dedicated. I think their motives are correct. We can talk about the European Super League, which was a disaster. But the majority of them are expecting a return on their money."

And this is perhaps the paradox of Dein: a man whose footballing journey is shrouded in romance, and yet one of the hardest and shrewdest realists of them all. A walking box of memories who accepts that his club and his sport have changed irrevocably. "It's inevitable, Jonathan," he sighs finally. "You can't stop the tide coming in." And whether in business, or football, or life, it feels like the truest and most painful lesson of all.

Calling the Shots: How to Win in Football and Life by David Dein is published by Constable on Thursday

Conte reveals palace visit as personal tribute to 'immortal' Queen

Spurs manager shifts focus to today's Sporting match after reflections on 'sad' death

Sid Lowe
Lisbon

Antonio Conte has revealed that he went to Buckingham Palace after the death of Queen Elizabeth II to pay his respects.

On Friday, the Tottenham manager should have been making the final preparations for their Premier League meeting with Manchester City but he admitted that the postponement of that game enabled him to prepare differently for the visit to Lisbon to face Sporting day, choosing a stronger side; it also enabled him to experience a "historic" moment that he said he will never forget.

"What happened in England in the last few days is a shock," Conte said. "She was 96 years old and for me honestly it was very difficult to believe that she had died: in your mind, you think that the Queen is immortal."

"Unfortunately the Queen is dead. We were all saddened because we are talking about a person whose service for this country was outstanding. At this moment there is a big sadness in the country. I live in London and on Friday, there is an atmosphere and I went to Buckingham Palace like a normal person - because I am a normal person with a heart - to live this situation because for sure I will remember this for the rest of our lives. And then the Premier League took an important decision to stop and shown great respect for the death."

"We are talking about a situation that will be history in the future," Conte explained. "To be here in this moment, to live this is for sure a sad moment but at the same time it is a special moment because we are talking about the death of a queen. I will keep this in my heart and my mind for the rest of my life."

Conte admitted that the postponement of the City match

altered his plans for this meeting and insisted again on the need to rotate his squad. With Richarlison adding to Spurs' attacking options, that now includes Son Heung-min, about whom he had previously said he would be "mad" to leave out of the side.

"Not playing on Saturday gave us the possibility to recover better and the situation has changed because when you play every two, three days you need rotation otherwise you risk injuries," Conte said. "The game against City being postponed gave us the possibility to recover well and let me be more relaxed picking the starting XI. It let me try something different. I have changed some things in my mind. The Premier League postponing helped us recover and have the chance to pick the best XI [against Sporting] and then for the next game against Leicester."

The problem may be further on. "If we don't play [against Leicester] the schedule to find time and space to recover these games is very, very difficult," Conte said.

"We have four players for three places [up front], and every manager likes to have these kinds of problems," he continued. "That makes it harder for me to choose but it is the right way because when you play a competition like the Champions League you need a deep squad. We started the season with Harry [Kane], Sonny and Dejan [Kulusevski] and in the last games I prefer[ed] to play Richie."

"When you to build something important and with ambition and to fight to win, we have to change our habit. Otherwise it means you want to stay where you were. We have ambition but the players have to accept the rotation. I am here to change the whole habit and the habit was that the players were used to play every game but that habit means you don't have a chance to win every game."

"You try to make the players happy but a big club has a big squad. At the moment we don't but we have started to follow this path. So if I drop one of these four players, it is normal and it is good."



JACK THOMAS/WWFC/
GETTY IMAGES

Ready to roar Diego Costa poses in eye-catching style to announce his move to Wolves on a deal until the end of the season. The 33-year-old returns to England having spent three years at Chelsea during which he won the Premier League title. "This is a championship I have always liked," he said. "It lit a fire within me."

Fans will observe silence at Anfield, insists Klopp

➔ *Continued from back page*

obviously not about what I think, but what people felt who are much closer to her. I respect their grief a lot and that is why I will show my respect tomorrow night with the minute's silence if it goes through."

Klopp has demanded Liverpool respond to the worst display of his Anfield reign after he delivered "four or five days of absolute truth" following the 4-1 rout by Napoli last week. He admitted it was a defensive shambles that asked questions of everyone involved, himself included, and left him in a challenging situation. Klopp insists Liverpool must react with a united, solid performance to kickstart their Champions League campaign.

"I watched the game back plenty of times and it was a real horror show, to be honest," said Klopp, who will be

without the injured Andy Robertson until after the international break. "It was the worst game we played since I was here. We had a few bad games - everyone remembers Aston Villa [beating his side 7-2] and some others where we were just not up to speed, but there were always glimpses in these games. In this particular game: nothing."

"Eight out of 11 were below their level and the three others were not



▲ Andy Robertson will miss tonight's game against Ajax with a knee injury

on a top level, just a normal game. In football like this, you solve all individual problems as a team and that's the first thing we have to do, to follow common ideas again. Everything what we did since I am here and everything my teams do is based on a really solid if not perfect defending."

Klopp admits the Napoli performance put him in the rare position of questioning Liverpool's players, and he did not hold back over recent days, when training has focused on basic defensive principles. As Joël Matip put it: "Sometimes it hurts but in a good team, which I think we are, you can speak about these truths. Everybody knows we have to improve."

Klopp said: "Did I question the players? Generally, no. In this situation, yes. I know the players want to sort the situation: we are not over the moon about our season so far. In this game it looked like everyone wanted to sort the problem out by themselves and that didn't give us the structure to work together. There are four or five days now of absolute truth. We didn't hide anything, we didn't hold back anything, we just said it how it is."



▲ Antonio Conte hopes Saturday's postponement helps his side 'recover better'
PATRICIA DE MELO MOREIRA/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Football In brief

Chelsea

Potter persuaded by Boehly's plans for club

Graham Potter has said the Chelsea owners' vision for the club convinced him to join. The 47-year-old replaced Thomas Tuchel as manager last Thursday after leaving Brighton. "It's the start of a really exciting period, I think," he told Chelsea's website. "New ownership, who I was really, really excited with

and impressed by, firstly as people and then their vision for the club and what they wanted to do. The history of the club speaks for itself, but it's about trying to create that again in our own way." Potter joins with Chelsea sixth in the Premier League and his first game will be tomorrow's Champions League visit of RB Salzburg. **PA Media**

Newcastle

Karius back in England to deputise for Darlow

Loris Karius has returned to the Premier League after joining Newcastle United on a deal until January. The German goalkeeper

had been without a club since leaving Liverpool at the end of last season but the torn ankle ligaments sustained by Karl Darlow dictated that Eddie Howe needed to sign cover for Nick Pope. **Louise Taylor**

Wales

Page takes charge until 2026 with new contract

Rob Page has signed a new four-year contract with Wales that will run until 2026, taking in Euro 2024 and the next World Cup campaign as well as this year's finals in Qatar. Page led Wales to the last-16 of Euro 2020 and to a World Cup for the first time in 64 years. **Ben Fisher**

A glorious summer shows captaincy was no burden

Ben Stokes has revelled in his role and transformation has restored the public's faith

Ali Martin
Kia Oval

The sponsors' backdrop was missing and the champagne spray parked but at the end of a rapid-fire Test decider, played out to a backdrop of national mourning in which English cricket struck the right tone, Ben Stokes smiled with satisfaction as he was presented with the Basil D'Oliveira Trophy.

A crowd of 5,000 had pitched up to the Oval to watch just 25 minutes of cricket in watery September sunshine as England sealed a nine-wicket victory over South Africa, and with it a 2-1 series victory. After Ollie Pope had duffed his attempt to scoop the winning runs a la Joe Root earlier in the summer, Zak Crawley punched Marco Jansen through cover for four

to move to an unbeaten 69 and complete an inevitable chase of 130.

Gone was the incredulity on the face of Stokes when bad light halted his side's victory charge the evening before with just 30 required. In its place was a captain with a player of the series medal around his neck reflecting on a memorable first summer in the job. Six wins from seven – England's best home season for 18 years, no less – is a fair old turnaround from their previous one in 17, but it was the soulful manner in which they delivered it that may well have restored the public's faith.

This remains an imperfect team, certainly, and tough assignments lie ahead, not least three Tests in Pakistan in December. Crawley and Alex Lees, lbw for 39, are still a couple of head-scratchers, but have likely booked their plane tickets through a second century stand of the summer, while the challenge of taking 20 wickets away from home will be significant. South Africa's batting lineup, it must be also said, was very flaky.



▲ Brendon McCullum's positivity has helped the team's mentality shift

But for all the caveats and the whataboutery of the modern sporting discourse, it would be churlish not to recognise that England appear on to something under the bristling leadership of Stokes and with Brendon McCullum, the head coach, whispering positive vibes in their ears like an eager bungee jump instructor on New Zealand's South Island.

The pair have clearly delivered the "mentality shift" that Rob Key diagnosed as essential before he swapped commentary for the role of director of England men's cricket in April. After all, personnel changes have been

minimal – Matt Potts, Jamie Overton and Harry Brook the debutants this summer – and the previously encumbered incumbents have responded to the mantra of putting results to one side, selectorial backing and repeat reminders they are living out the dreams of their younger selves.

The upshot was a summer bookended by emerging on the right side of seaming dogfights in London but in between they wriggled out of tight spots consistently. The win at Trent Bridge, for example, came after shipping 553 first up and then they bounced back from 55 for six at Headingley to sweep New Zealand 3-0. Even a 132-run first-innings deficit in the one-off Test against India was no issue, a record fourth-innings run chase of 378 vaporised by the flashing blades of Root and Jonny Bairstow.

As the Hundred struggled to match the excitement generated during the midsummer hiatus, many wondered whether the remarkable form of the two Yorkshiremen (plus a combination of flat surfaces and doughy Dukes balls) was the chief difference. Both were kept quiet by South Africa's wonderful attack however – Bairstow then cruelly missing the third Test with a broken leg – and yet after the shock of the defeat at Lord's, Stokes powered a commanding response with bat and ball.

South Africa had walked tall through the wood-panelled Long

Day five scoreboard

The Kia Oval England beat South Africa by nine wickets
Overnight S Africa 118 (OE Robinson 5-49, SCJ Broad 4-41) and 169. England 158 (OJD Pope 67; M Jansen 5-35, K Rabada 4-81) and 97-0 (Z Crawley 57no).

England	Second innings	Balls	4s	6s
AZ Lees lbw b Rabada	39	73	4	0
Z Crawley not out	69	57	12	0
OJD Pope not out	11	10	1	0
Extras (lb6, nb5)	11			

Total (for 1, 22.3 overs) **130**

Fall 108.

Did not bat JE Root, HC Brook, BA Stokes, BT Foakes, SCJ Broad, OE Robinson, MJ Leach, JM Anderson.

Bowling Rabada 11-1-57-1; Jansen 7.3-0-40-0; Nortje 4-0-27-0.

Umpires NN Menon and RA Kettleborough.

Room at Lord's and engraved their latest mark on the ground's history but their tour somewhat disintegrated thereafter. Beyond one half-century all series not being remotely close to sufficient – their shortcomings with the bat must be remembered amid England's delight – the lesson for the Proteas to take to Australia later this year is that Kagiso Rabada, 14 wickets in the series, must be protected, and that Jansen is simply too good to mix the drinks.

The latter's bizarre omission at Old Trafford in favour of two spinners locked Dean Elgar into a bat-first strategy under leaden skies. As such, England were handed a second red carpet in the week their captain's tell-all documentary premiered. Stokes's measured century, plus a second in

Long hot summer England's run of big wins and big performances

New Zealand

2-5 Jun First Test, Lord's England win by five wkts

10-14 Jun Second Test, Trent

Bridge England win by five wkts

23-27 Jun Third Test, Headingley England win by seven wkts

India

1-5 Jul Fifth Test, Edgbaston

England win by seven wkts

South Africa

17-19 Aug First Test, Lord's South

Africa win by an inns and 12 runs

25-27 Aug Second Test, Old

Trafford England win by an inns

and 85 runs

8-12 Sep Third Test, The Oval

England win by nine wkts

681

The **number of runs** scored by England's highest scorer Jonny Bairstow at an average of 75.66

176

England's **highest individual score**, made by Joe Root in the second Test against New Zealand



▲ Joe Root acknowledges the Trent Bridge crowd after his 176



Test cricket for Ben Foakes, dispelled concerns that England knew only one way. The excellence of Jimmy Anderson and Stuart Broad endured (they shared 56 wickets this summer), while Ollie Robinson returned to finesse 12 victims at 15 from his two Tests. Fitter and leaner after some tough love from Stokes, this accurate, bouncy craftsman now has 51 at 19.8 apiece from 11 caps.

It was something of a surprise, therefore, that the more nuanced approach seen in Manchester fell by the wayside at the Oval and nearly blew up in England's faces when, 84 for two in reply to South Africa's 118, they went hard at the ball and crumbled to 158 all out. Stokes, among those to throw it away before his seam attack spared the team's blushes, was slightly chippy about some of the criticism that resulted but with time to reflect over a few cold ones, he may grudgingly accept there was some justification.

Either way, those delayed drinks - among the sources of his frustration on the second evening - were well earned, both for a barking knee after thundering 18 wickets this season and the way his emergence from a dark period in his life has been echoed by his troops at large. Many wondered if the captaincy would overburden the all-rounder but, going by the early evidence, it could well be the making of him and this team.



Lees has fun during quickest of chases

The opener clips the ball over Keegan Petersen during England's 25-minute fifth-day march to victory

JOHN WALTON/PA

Analysis Barney Ronay



◀ Jimmy Anderson and Stuart Broad continue to be influential for England
TOM JENKINS/THE GUARDIAN

Shrewd handling ensures Broad and Anderson's Indian summer continues into a Pakistan winter

There were some dreamy-looking images of Ben Stokes and Brendon McCullum, England's inner circle, the bro-tocracy, during

the South Africa Test series. At Old Trafford there was the balcony tableau after Stokes's hundred, coach and captain bathed in August sunshine, a collage of shades, beards, guns, tattoo-sleeves, giving off an alpha energy so powerful it may have been responsible for fusing part of the pavilion circuit.

At the Oval there were shots of the pair of them lounging together on the turf Baz-Head Revisited-style, Sebastian and Charles in cinch-branded lycra tracksuits.

Genuine elite sporting friendships are rare. More often these are forged out of necessity, external pressures and the illusion of team spirit generated by victory. But Stokes and McCullum's relationship really does seem to be a founded in mutual affection, along with a fertile tessellation of ideas and intentions. This might sound crass and speculative, but, then, the best

working relationships can often be comfortably straightforward.

Stokes lost his Kiwi dad last year. For now, while the sun shines, he really does seem to have found a Kiwi big brother.

Either way the people in charge of the England men's red ball team look happy. Not only is this contagious, good for business, and great TV product, but it hasn't been possible to say that for quite some time. And this was an undeniably vital summer of Test cricket.

How did they do it? From one win in 17, to six in seven. From emotional exhaustion to the summer of Baz-love. Most attention will focus on the batting, if only because it is the easiest thing. Fourth innings chases, the shimmy down the pitch to the seaming ball, Jonny Bairstow setting about world class bowlers like a man gleefully scything his way through a plasterboard wall with a polo mallet. This has been the iconography of the summer.

But in many ways what Stokes and McCullum did with the bowling was even more vital, and

even more impressive, in particular the handling of Stuart Broad. England have needed Broad this summer. Whisper it, and certainly whisper it around Stuart Broad, but he might not have played much had everyone else been fit. They haven't been: and Broad is always fit and always game. In every walk of life, sometimes just not going away really is a vital quality.

So Broad played all seven Tests, a powerful, occasionally disruptive character, desperate to play another Ashes summer just as his role starts to narrow; and poised centre stage right at the start of this delicate thing.

From that potentially hazardous start the handling of Broad has been seriously impressive: from convincing him of his vital importance to the new era in the unwanted role of First Change Stuart; to captaining some really fine, match-turning spells of bowling; to the sense that Broad's theatricality, the big ego presence has become in this new-build England team an affectionate kind of comedy.

Broad gave a brilliant interview at the Oval, an interview that was basically an advert for Stuart Broad, ranging across subjects as diverse as how vital he is personally to this new era, ("It's been very powerful"), to talking up his own new tactical role, bowling fuller, not protecting his figures, trying to get wickets, as thought it is simply what he has been desperate to do all along. This is, as management theorists would say, great buy-in.

At the end of this there will be a temptation to lump Broad in, as ever, with James Anderson, to see another defiant twin Branderson summer, something that has perhaps benefitted Broad to some degree. In reality they are quite different. Broad has been very good for a very long time.

Anderson, on the other hand, is a cricketing genius and a genuine

Stokes and McCullum's relationship really does seem to be founded in mutual affection

hall-of-famer. And really this has been his summer. Just look at the numbers. In six Tests Anderson has 27 wickets at 17.6, sublime in every spell, a master of his craft. Broad has 29 at 27 in one more match, which is pretty good, albeit home summers carry a premium and no one out there can bat. Stokes has 18 at 25. Ollie Robinson and Matt Potts, who, like Broad, also played seven Tests combined, have 32 at 23. "If it was the Ashes tomorrow and David Warner is opening I think I'd be opening the bowling," Broad offered up at the end of the Oval Test. And while this is great nudge-theory, great brand-reminders - Ashes, Warner, big moments, I am Stuart Broad - it is also not correct.

Robinson's initial selection had always seemed to be part of a long term de-Broadification of the Test team, even if they are in many ways very different - Robinson a kind of Ginsters and Lucozade man, a fag on the fire escape kind of vibe, Broad rigidly fit and focused. But Robinson has also been supremely well managed by Stokes and McCullum, told what to do, made to feel like a grown up while he does it, and given the chance to show what a wonderfully skilful, tactically astute bowler he is.

It is in the field that teams are really made, and where they can also fray. Fusing these needs and interests, forging a decisive attack out of these ageing lions plus Jack Leach, who lest we forget, took a home Test ten-for this summer, has been hugely impressive.

'High ceiling' Stokes salutes buoyant side's 'scary' potential

Simon Burnton
Kia Oval

Ben Stokes described the potential of his team as "scary" after England brought down the curtain on their first summer under his captaincy by wrapping up a nine-wicket victory over South Africa at the Oval, their sixth win in seven matches since the start of June.

With the prospect of the side being bolstered by the return of several seamers from injury - including Jofra Archer and Mark Wood - by the time Australia visit next summer with the Ashes on the line, Stokes believes England's future looks bright.

"It's a great thing to think about," Stokes said. "Who knows how far we can take this side over the next couple of years? Because we've got two of our premium fast bowlers who have had big injuries, so you add Jofra and Woody into the mix, it's scary to think where things could go. And the batters we've got coming through - it's a very high ceiling."

The Test team's next challenge will be to continue this form in the less familiar conditions of Pakistan in December, with Stokes taking the unusual step of encouraging his play-

ers not to get carried away by their recent exploits. "I think it would be silly not to reflect on this summer, and not take too much from it because it's a very special thing we've managed to achieve," he said. "But it is something we are going to try to continue when we go to Pakistan. We can't live off the fact that we've won six out of seven games, because we'll be presented with a completely different challenge. We want to walk towards that danger of what Pakistan is going to throw at us."

Stokes also called on commentators not to be too critical when the positive approach he is encouraging does not pay dividends, warning of young players being confused by "mixed messages". "I feel people who talk about the way we play should understand they've got a huge

influence on the next generation," he said. "People do listen to what they say about the game, which sometimes contradicts what we've got to say."

Zak Crawley, who has endure significant criticism across a difficult summer, concluded it with a stylish and unbeaten 69. It was his first half-century in 18 innings since his ton in Antigua in March, in which time there have been nine single-digit scores and two ducks.

"What we've seen of Zak here is what we know he can produce," Stokes said. "That innings would have given Zak a huge amount of confidence within himself. He knows he's got the backing of the dressing room but there can always be that self-doubt when things aren't going your way, and the way he went out and played on Sunday was awesome."

'Both bruised'

Dein reflects on Arsenal exit and Wenger's Invincibles



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New wave

Sky is the limit for Alcaraz after US Open breakthrough

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The Guardian
Tuesday 13 September 2022



Sport



ADRIAN DENNIS/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Job done for 'scary' England

Ben Stokes was full of praise for his team after they beat South Africa to wrap up a superb summer

Analysis and reaction
Pages 38-39 →

Liverpool fans will respect the silence, says Klopp

Andy Hunter

Jürgen Klopp has said he expects Liverpool fans will respect a minute's silence in memory of the Queen when football resumes at Anfield tonight.

Liverpool have asked Uefa for permission to commemorate the late Queen before their Champions League fixture at home to Ajax. Sections of the club's support booed the national anthem before the FA Cup and Carabao Cup finals at Wembley last season, raising questions over how a tribute to the monarch's death may be observed at Anfield.

Klopp believes a minute's silence, if allowed by Uefa, would be treated with respect and highlighted Liverpool supporters' applause for Cristiano Ronaldo in the seventh minute of last season's game at Manchester United after the death of the player's new-born son.

"I think it is the right thing to do but I don't think our people need any kind of advice from me for showing respect," said Klopp on the proposed silence. "There are plenty of examples where our people showed exactly the right respect. One which surprised me and I was really proud of that moment was last season when we played Manchester United around a very sad situation with Cristiano Ronaldo's family. And that is what I expect. For me, it is clear that's what we have to do."

Klopp lost his mother Elisabeth, who was aged 81, last year and was unable to attend her funeral because of Covid-19 travel restrictions. He said he was acutely aware of the grief felt by those close to the Queen.

The Liverpool manager said: "I am 55 years old and she is the only queen of England I ever knew. As far as I know, I don't know her, but the things you can see she was a really warm, nice, loved lady and that is all that I need to know. Because of my personal experience not too long [ago, I know] it is

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Fixtures give way to funeral

Premier League and Europa League matches called off

Sean Ingle
David Hytner

Two of the weekend's biggest Premier League matches have been called off because of policing issues related to the Queen's funeral. Manchester United's home game against Leeds and Liverpool's visit to Chelsea will be played at a later date, along with Arsenal's Europa League match at home to PSV on Thursday.

However the other seven Premier League fixtures due to be played from

Friday will go ahead, with Brighton v Crystal Palace having been postponed last week for unrelated reasons. The Guardian understands the Football League is confident most of its weekend games will also be fulfilled after receiving assurances about policing levels at its matches.

In a statement the Premier League said it had no option but to postpone three fixtures after extensive consultations with clubs, police and other relevant authorities. Two matches have had their kick-off times moved, with Brentford v Arsenal on Sunday

becoming a noon kick-off and Everton v West Ham switching to 2.15pm. With an international break starting after this weekend, Leeds are due to go from 3 September to 2 October without a match. Brighton and Palace face almost identical situations.

The midweek Champions League matches involving Liverpool, Manchester City, Spurs and Chelsea will take place. However Uefa said it had to call off Arsenal v PSV due "to the severe limitations on police resources and organisational issues related to the ongoing events surrounding the

national mourning for Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II". It is understood a factor in the decision was that the fixture was considered higher-risk because of the number of PSV fans due to travel, and their reputation.

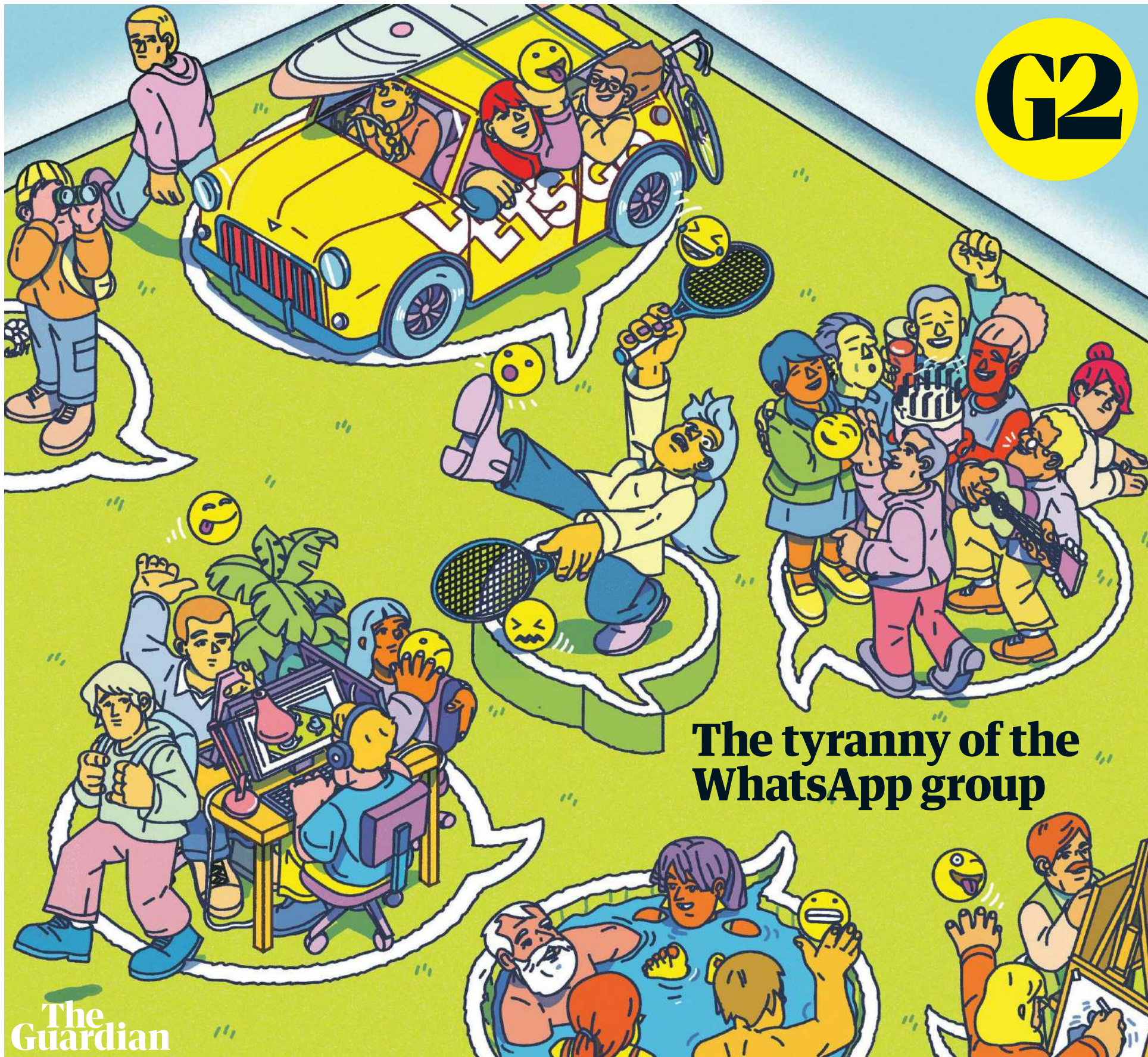
No new dates were announced by the Premier League or Uefa. However Arsenal are expecting either their Premier League game against Manchester City on 19 October or their Carabao Cup game against Brighton in early November will have to be moved to accommodate the PSV fixture.

The EFL confirmed its midweek fixture programme would return as scheduled tomorrow, with tributes to be paid to the Queen. "A minute's silence will be held before matches, with black armbands to be worn by participants, flags to be flown at half-mast and the national anthem to be played in stadiums," it said.

The Football Association said on Monday that all football at all levels was now clear to return but all matches scheduled for next Monday would be postponed.



▲ Jürgen Klopp says a minute's silence is 'the right thing to do'



The tyranny of the WhatsApp group

The Guardian

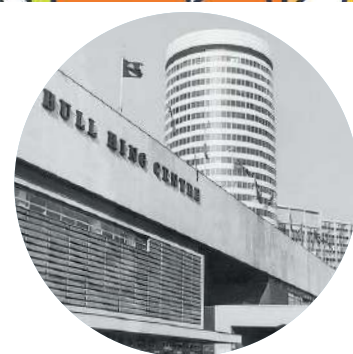
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Zoe Williams

Being a republican was respectable. Now it can get you arrested

A woman in Edinburgh was arrested at the weekend for holding a sign that said: “Fuck imperialism, abolish monarchy.” In Oxford, an even milder protest resulted in the arrest of Symon Hill. He emerged from church as the proclamation for King Charles III was being read, and called out: “Who elected him?” There is a question mark over how disruptive that was, in the great scheme of things, but it was enough for the police to arrest and handcuff him, later to de-arrest him on the understanding that he would be questioned in the future. Hill says that, at the time, they told him they were acting under the new Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Act (2022), though they later described it as a potential public order offence.

I know all this only because I follow Hill on Twitter, but is it wise to admit that? Who knows how far the powers of the new act extend? The police sure as hell don’t seem to.

I will truncate the obligatory sentiments (it is sad when anyone dies; respect must be paid to such a peerless sense of duty) on the understanding that you know all that because you are not a robot. For now, let us just pause to consider British republicanism, which used to be a perfectly acceptable position, quite within the range of polite debate, and definitely not something you could be arrested for.

This is going back a while, to before the death of Diana, which was arguably the trigger for our modern royalist absolutism. It is all a bit of a paradox. That tragedy, at the time, looked as though it might start a wider conversation: what do we expect of this family? Do we want them to emote or be stoical, be open or reserved, human or superhuman – and is it reasonable to ask for all those things at once? In the end, the opposite happened: all conversation was steadily closed down, to bring us to now when, if you voice anything but blank-faced adoration, you could get a brick through your window.

Before all that, there were distinct strains of republicanism. There was a mild, wonky, Lib Dem-ish faction who liked all the royals personally, but felt that if we were ever going to get the constitutional reform we so richly deserved, we couldn’t very well leave the pinnacle undisturbed. It was as a Lib Dem (later president of her university Lib Dem group) in 1994 that Liz Truss said: “That people, because of the family they’re born into, should be able to be the head of state of our country?

I think that’s disgraceful.” She was clearly playing to the crowd, but she had actually, and not uncharacteristically, got the wrong crowd. She was voicing centre-left anti-royalism, which disapproved of the institution because it wasn’t democratic or meritocratic. These kind of republicans talked a lot about how on earth Prince Charles got into Cambridge with two A-levels.

The left-left republicanism was different, and centred on the inequality that was not just iterated but celebrated by the royal spectacle. What kind of a country could watch someone on a golden throne, wearing 20m quid on their head alone, and think that was a good thing? There was a nascent, allied decolonialist case: how can we atone for our imperial past while its beneficiaries-in-chief are still so visibly benefiting? Nobody really listened to them, though.

Finally, the intellectuals – not necessarily left, centre or right, just aesthetic – who thought the royals made us look a bit silly. Pomp without ballast, ceremony without meaning: would it not be better if we all grew up a bit? That royalism is a bit childish is possibly now the most unsayable thing. I can’t emphasise enough how respectable that position once was. I had a question about it in my general studies A-level: “The existence of a monarch infantilises the people. Discuss.”

Personally, I’m pretty happy about King Charles, even if I have yet to say those words out loud without adding “spaniel”. He is a committed environmentalist at a point when the government is full of climate change deniers. Sure, I would rather not be relying on a figurehead as change-maker, but I’d take him over any other.

Or am I just saying that to stay out of jail? Truly, this is the dark timeline.



Conference season: cancel, or keep calm and carry on?

I miss the days when the smell of autumn meant you were in line for a new pencil case. Now it means it’s party conference season. The TUC and the Lib Dems had to cancel, their luckless plans falling in the middle of the period of national mourning. What has to be axed and what can continue doesn’t make much sense. You can’t go to the football but you still have to go to work. You can’t have a festival of pedestrianisation (Hammersmith and Fulham council cancelled its car-free day at the weekend) but you can go to the gee-gees.

Labour must have had this conversation: what makes us look more patriotic, cancelling or carrying on? It decided to go ahead, giving over the first day of its conference to royal tributes. I wish people would focus more on the bit that comes before “carry on”: “keep calm”. But actually, can it be any worse than regular conference? The first day is always full of big-ticket platitudes, backgrounded by grumbling delegates going: “I remember the days when we wanted to smash the system.” If anyone accidentally says anything interesting (such as Angela Rayner calling Tories scum last year) they are pilloried for days and the leader has to go on the radio to apologise for them, as if they have been caught playing knock down ginger, rather than saying something oppositional.

How the Conservatives will cope with this unusual time is anyone’s guess. The delegate mood is much more respectful, almost servile, but they have landed on a leader none of them seems wild about, the MPs are less enthusiastic still, there is division in the ranks about why they had to get rid of that fun Boris chap, and the pressure is really on to outgrieve the rest of the nation, while maintaining the stiff upper lips for which the British are putatively fabled. It’s so impossible that, if it were up to me, I’d cancel the whole lot. But then, how would we know it’s autumn?



Can Keir Starmer hit the right key note?

Pass notes

3



Nº 4,458

Beige flags

Age: Very old, although TikTok gave it a name recently.

Appearance: A red flag, but much more boring.

Ah, red flags I know about. Me too. They are early warning signs for a relationship. Maybe you meet someone who lies a lot, or follows slightly too many fitness models on Instagram, or responds to simple prompts with startling aggression.

Argh! I hate that so much! Yes. Well, it’s important to note these red flags, because ignoring them might mean that you find yourself trapped in a partnership with someone you come to hate, let’s say, one month shy of 30 years later.

Pass Notes has been going for one month shy of 30 years. What a weird coincidence.

So, what is a beige flag? If a red flag means that the person you’re romantically interested in is incompatible with your personality type, a beige flag means that they’re boring.

How do you work that out? If you’ve spent any time on dating apps, you’ll notice that most profiles have a habit of lapsing into meaningless platitudes. Perhaps they list their interests as merely “food”, or claim to enjoy soulless mainstream sitcoms.

How dreary. It gets worse. Perhaps they spout pointless opinions. Maybe they make a fuss about whether pineapple belongs on pizza or their dislike of the word “moist”.

Pineapple on a pizza? So gross! When, in fact, anybody with anything remotely interesting going on in their lives won’t care about something as hackneyed as the great Hawaiian pizza debate.

OK, but jam definitely goes first on a scone, right? Christ. I’m so tired.

You think of something better to talk about, then. That’s not up to me. You set up a dating profile to stand out from the crowd, but you’ve filled it with the same basic, unexceptional cookie-cutter observations and interests as everyone else. Nothing about you stands out. You are a walking, talking beige flag. Why should I waste my time on you?

Fine. How would you stand out? I’d make it clear that I am half of the Guardian’s famous Pass Notes feature.

That won’t get you laid. It will, but only with a very, very, very, very, very, very specific type of person.

What about the rest of us? Remember, it’s a battlefield out there. Use whatever makes you stand out the most. Have you ever been struck by lightning? Were you once bitten by a tiger? Did you invent toothpaste?

No. Hawaiian pizza it is, then. Best of luck.

Do say: “Avoid beige flags at all costs.”

Don’t say: “Or maybe you’re too picky, and your fruitless search for romantic perfection will doom you to die alone.”



Voice anything but adoration and you risk a brick through your window

Green your eats: the most ethical products for the kitchen cupboard

From heritage flour to raw honey to seaweed sauce, it's now easy to fill your pantry without harming the planet. **Clare Finney** picks the best sources of eco grocery staples

When it comes to fresh food, we know what we should do: buy local, eat less meat, look for fish approved by the Good Fish Guide. But what about the items in our store cupboard – the sauces, spices, condiments, spreads and ingredients that are canned, jarred or dried? How do we choose them so as to inflict as little damage on the planet as possible?

The bad news is, it's not that simple. Sustainability is a complex hydra. "There are social criteria, health criteria, embedded carbon [all the CO₂ emitted in producing a product throughout its lifecycle] and embedded water [all the water entailed]," says Tim Lang, professor of food policy at City, University of London and the person who coined the phrase "food miles". For example, buying dried pulses and cooking them yourself will reduce the energy expended on packaging and transporting cans, but it entails more emissions than in a factory where the process is streamlined. In theory, dried fruits and spices have a low environmental impact – but this is increased if they are quickly freeze-dried rather than dried slowly in the sunshine.

The good news is that a well-stocked store cupboard can help to reduce food waste, which is responsible for 6% of global greenhouse gas emissions. It can also play a part in food security.

"A store cupboard is ultimately about giving the household a buffer," says Lang. "We need to transform consumers' approach to household planning and to cooking – not assume supermarkets will do that for us." Since refrigerators replaced larders, technology "made consumers dependent on energy-guzzling supply chains", he says, which are now facing uncertainty. Long term, this will require

changes in public policy: sustainable store cupboard products are far from being universally affordable. Still, there are cheaper – if ever so slightly less sustainable – options. If you have space and can afford to, buy loose and in bulk where possible to save money and packaging.

British pulses Hodmedod's

Pulses are the holy grail of store cupboard goods, says Lang. They are storable, nutritious, grow easily and abundantly in the UK, and are great for soil health. In fact, Josiah Meldrum of Hodmedod's – a purveyor of British pulses – is almost embarrassed by how positive pulses are for the environment. "There really is no bad news," he says.

Being rich in protein, they are perfect as a substitute for or supplement to meat, so that we consume less of it. Then there's their ability to fertilise the soil, using root nodules containing bacteria that convert atmospheric nitrogen into ammonia – "so they don't need any artificial fertilisers, which degrade the soil", continues Meldrum. The nodules increase organic matter by feeding microbial life which, when it dies, "ensures carbon is locked into the soil".

Plus, Hodmedod's baked beans taste at least as good as Heinz's.

Palm oil-free peanut butter Manilife, Meridian

Like pulses, peanuts are a sustainable crop that demands little water, has nitrogen-fixing properties and, when planted in rotation with other crops, reduces soil erosion. Other nut butters are available, of course, but walnuts and almonds are more water-intensive and less versatile than peanut butter, which can be used in a variety of soups and sauces as well as on toast. Manilife sources



Some pasta companies use British grains; pesto is best homemade

its peanuts from a family-run farm in Argentina which follows organic processes as closely as possible, and eschews palm oil: one of the biggest drivers of deforestation worldwide.

'Heritage grain' flour Sharpham Park, Wildfarmed, Gilchesters, Doves Farm

It's hard to believe something so ubiquitous and innocuous as flour could be environmentally problematic, but modern, hybridised wheat has a lot to answer for. Being bred over the years to have a short stem and no protective husk has left the strain dependent on pesticides and fertilisers.

Heritage grains such as spelt, emmer and einkorn have deeper roots and can be grown without chemicals on farms that adopt regenerative practices. They are then stoneground – a process that preserves the nutritional properties of the grain – into a flavourful flour.

Will Murray, of the sustainably minded restaurant Fallow, is a particular fan of Wildfarmed. "They buy the flour before it has been grown, so they're not driven

by yield, they're driven by quality, which means supporting soil nutrients and soil health."

'Heritage grain' pasta Pastificio Carleschi, Sharpham Park, Fresh Flour Company

As with flour, so with pasta. Pastificio Carleschi and the Fresh Flour Company use the stoneground flour of British-grown heritage grains to produce beautiful, bronze-cut pasta, dried at low temperatures to maintain the nutrition, flavour and texture of the final product. Pastificio Carleschi avoids plastic packaging. The Fresh Flour Company supplies loose pasta, direct from the mill and through a network of zero-waste shops as well as online.

"I struggled a bit with [sustainable] pasta, but I really like the Fresh Flour Company," says Michelin-green-starred chef Chantelle Nicholson, of the zero-waste restaurant Apricity in London. "They do fettuccini, ramen noodles, bucatini – all sorts of shapes."

Raw honey Oliveology, Field & Flower, Local Honey Man, Bermondsey Street Bees

About two-thirds of the crops that feed the world rely on pollination by bees, birds and bats. Pollination benefits both human nutrition and biodiversity, yet monocultures and the blanket use of chemicals in intensive agriculture is compromising bees' ability to support the ecosystem, putting their – and, ultimately, our – survival at risk. Supporting beekeepers who prioritise the health of their hives and work alongside organic farmers is one way of safeguarding against this risk – and the best way to do that is to look for raw honey, which will by definition have been produced on a small scale.

Being a natural preservative,



honey does not need heating – yet industrial honeys are made from a huge number of sources, and each honey will vary wildly in colour and viscosity. "They blend them together and heat them to make a uniform product," says Sam Wallace, co-founder of Field & Flower, which sources honeys from independent producers in UK and Europe. This means the ethics of how and where it is gathered are muddier, and that the market for honey is distorted, she continues, making sustainable beekeeping less financially viable.

When shopping, look for your nearest local small-scale supplier.

Fava bean umami paste Hodmedod's

"We love using miso in our cooking," says Murray, "and Hodmedod's umami paste is a good alternative to the Japanese product. It's very dark, intense and umami." Like all legumes, fava beans flourish in regenerative farming systems, support soil fertility and soil carbon and work well in crop rotations with grains and cereals. Hodmedod's ferments these beans to create a paste that can serve instead of miso, which is traditionally made with fermented soy and imported to the UK from Asia. It's available to buy online in bulk, in 20kg tubs, or in smaller recyclable glass jars.

Seaweed Cornish Seaweed Company, Mara Seaweed, Wild Irish Seaweeds

Seaweed is only as niche as your knowhow. At Fallow, Murray uses sustainably harvested seaweed from Cornwall to make all sorts of savoury sauces and stocks, including dashi, one of the foundational stocks of Japanese cooking that is most commonly made with sardines, dried bonito flakes or shiitake mushrooms. "It's one of the most sustainable



Pulses and honey can be sourced locally





Emmer wheat makes a good alternative to rice

foods you can eat,” Murray says. It requires no chemicals or fertilisers to grow and, by absorbing huge quantities of carbon dioxide, its cultivation improves the quality of the surrounding water and ultimately our atmosphere. In Scotland, saucier Jacob Thundil uses seaweed to make a plant-based alternative to soy sauce. “I wanted to avoid soy, because it’s a potential allergen and often intensively farmed – and when I was experimenting with seaweed grown at my friend’s farm, I found I could create similar flavours,” he says. The seaweed is aged, and only a small amount is used so it is not overpowering.

Fish sauce Red Boat, Sozyë

Thundil uses Scottish seaweed to make plant-based “fish” sauce, for similar reasons: “It often contains shrimp, which is an allergen; there are ethical issues around farming; and fish sauce is transported over long distances.” The main issue with traditional fish sauce is the lack of transparency. Sustainable shrimp farms do exist, and the other common ingredients for fish sauce, anchovies and sardines, are “good candidates for sustainable fisheries because they reproduce rapidly at a relatively young age and, when well managed, are a great source of sustainable, highly nutritious seafood. But this isn’t always the case and sadly, south-east Asia isn’t renowned for its sustainably managed fisheries,” says Jack Clarke, a sustainable seafood advocate at the Marine Conservation Society. That said, fish sauce needs to be viewed in the round. “A bottle lasts a long time and a few splashes impart a lot of flavour. I’ll add fish sauce to otherwise vegetarian dishes to give them a slap of umami ... you’re using a tiny proportion of animal-derived ingredients to potentially take the place of something like prawns or beef, and this could be seen as reducing a dish’s impact on the planet.”

To that end, many chefs swear by Red Boat, which is simply made from salt and barrel-fermented wild-caught black anchovies. Clarke can’t comment on the sustainability of the fishery – it doesn’t have a rating – but given “a third of global fish catches are turned into animal feed, the more we can divert directly into human nutrition, the better”.

Pesto Homemade

“Even from a flavour perspective I wouldn’t buy pesto,” says Nicholson; homemade is a no-brainer. Mass-produced pesto often uses pine nuts from China. The olive oil is rarely sustainably sourced. The jars are small, and yet somehow you always end up with a little bit left that accrues mould within days.

Yet there are few better ways of using up old herbs, salad leaves, carrot tops and leafy vegetables than blending them with oil and nuts. Use pumpkin or sunflower seeds rather than pine nuts, says Nicholson – or better yet, British

cobnuts; Food & Forest have an excellent, regeneratively farmed supply. Use a pestle and mortar rather than an electric grinder to make it more sustainable still, and sterilise your jars, so it will last longer.

Regeneratively farmed extra-virgin olive oil The Oil Merchant, Citizens of Soil, Two Fields, Oliveology, Honest Toil

It’s hard to believe something as ancient and poetic as the olive tree could be intensively farmed, but it can – and with that comes all the attendant environmental problems of pollution, erosion and lost biodiversity. Traditional small-scale methods of olive oil production have very little environmental impact, however. Olive trees can grow in areas of mixed land use, promoting biodiversity, and require little water compared with other crops. They are well suited to regenerative farming practices – but these are only viable if growers are selling their oil directly to consumers rather than into global supply chains, where they would get homogenised and depreciated.

Mercifully, these are just a few of many suppliers who source their olive oil direct from small-scale producers. Opt for refillable cans and bottles if you can.

Organic Joha rice, millet, barley Forest Whole Foods, Doves Farm, Hodmedod’s, Hatton Hill

Is there such a thing as sustainable rice? Lang doesn’t think so. “The UN assessments all say rice is the staple food most at risk from climate change,” he tells me. It is responsible for 10% of the world’s methane emissions, and the embedded water cost – the amount of water entailed in the production of rice – is high. “Until the catastrophic River Po drought I’d say you could opt for Italian risotto rice over Indian, but now Italy is also water-stressed,” says Lang. Even the award-winning Indian chef Chet Sharma is steering clear of rice as far as possible in his restaurant Bibi, with the exception of Joha rice, which is slowly grown and organically farmed in the Assam region. Yet there are plenty of sustainably grown British grains that can stand in for rice, depending on the dish you’re cooking. “Emmer wheat doesn’t have the softness of rice, but it has a lovely bite to it. Pearled barley would work alongside curries or in risottos,” says Nicholson.

Ketchup Rubies in the Rubble

It doesn’t have to be Heinz; it can be Rubies in the Rubble ketchup, made with organic tomatoes and sweetened with oversized or misshaped pears and apples that are surplus to demand and have no other buyer. Nicholson actively prefers this ketchup to Heinz – and it doesn’t just come in glass bottles; the new recyclable squeeze bottle is 100% post-consumer recycled plastic waste. “I would say it’s my favourite – and you can buy it in the supermarket now, too.”

'I just can't live life like this!'

WhatsApp's group chats were a lifeline in lockdown, but for many, they have become an oppressive distraction. How can we break free? **Sirin Kale** reports

As I write, I have 101 unread WhatsApp messages, 254 unread iPhone messages and 46,252 unread emails across three separate accounts. For me, Inbox Zero is a faraway goal, as unachievable as mastering the perfect cat's-eye flick, or learning how to cook.

But it is the WhatsApp messages, specifically the WhatsApp group chats, that terrorise me the most. If I were a woman of courage, I would simply exit these chats as soon as I am added to them; but I feel the weight of social obligation, and so I remain.

I am not the only person to feel this way. Last month, WhatsApp bowed to public pressure and announced that users will be able to exit groups invisibly, without notifying other members of their decision. (The new policy has yet to be implemented, however.) The conflict-avoidant among us rejoiced: now, finally, we can slink out of groups without being perceived as rude. But 11 years after the instant messaging app introduced a group chat feature, will we ever truly escape the tyranny of the WhatsApp group?

"I am probably on the wrong side of history on this," says Danny Groner, 39, a marketing director from New York. "Just to be clear. It's not about my cousins. They are lovely people." Groner is referring to a 25-strong WhatsApp group consisting of his first and second cousins. It is a space to keep up with family news: birthdays, anniversaries, births, new jobs. "Everyone is well-meaning," says Groner. "But I wasn't getting any value out of it."

Groner has left the group three times. Each time, a cousin has added him back in, usually to wish him a happy birthday or happy anniversary, and Groner has gone straight back out again, without thanking them.

"I'm sure people in the group

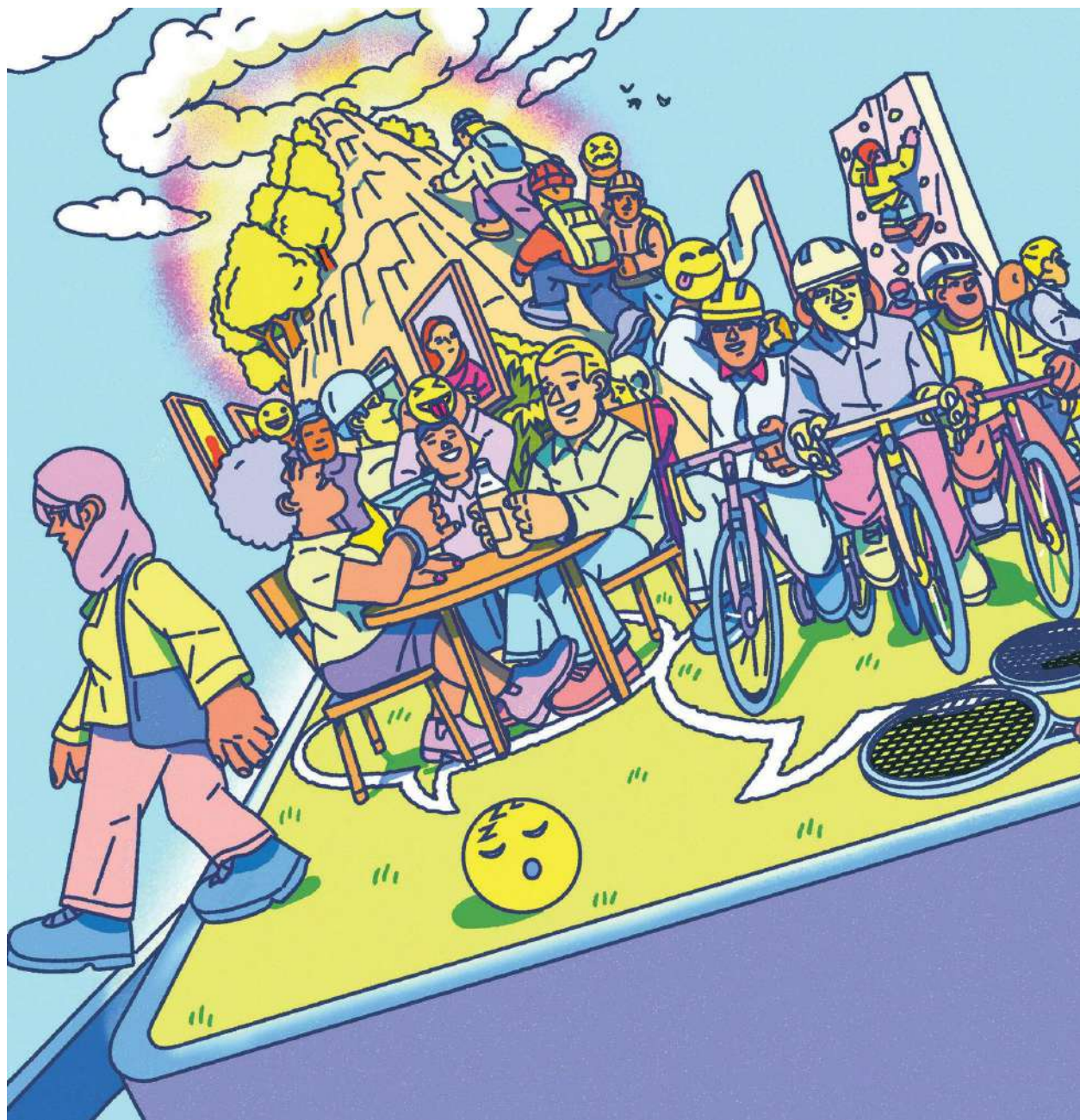
think it's aggressive, or strange at the very least," he says. "But I need to uphold these boundaries for myself, so I don't get sucked in."

Instead, Groner has hit on a workable compromise, at least for him: his wife monitors the group on his behalf. "She is willing to sacrifice herself to be a part of it," he says, "because it doesn't bother her in the way it does me." Although Groner is often told that he is rude, he is also an unlikely hero for the WhatsApp group resistance: "I have so many people telling me that they wish they could get out of groups, but they're afraid they'll offend people if they leave."

In effect, Groner has asserted his desire to live without being assailed by incessant messages that require immediate responses. "I just can't live a life these days where I come back to my phone and have several dozen messages to sift through," he explains. In this, he is exercising what the philosopher Gilles Deleuze describes as "the right to say nothing". Deleuze writes: "Repressive forces don't stop people expressing themselves, but rather force them to express themselves; what a relief to have nothing to say. Because only then is there a chance of framing the rare, and even rarer, thing that might be worth saying."

Although Deleuze died before social media took off, the phenomenon he observed – how pointless chatter takes us away from the conversations that really matter – could easily be applied to any fast-flashing WhatsApp group. These chats reduce us all to an army of modern-day Mrs Bennets, endlessly gossiping or swapping mundane observations, rather than working, thinking or simply existing.

"Take an executive overview of how WhatsApp is eating into your life," says Richard Seymour, author of *The Twittering Machine*. "The basic thing it does is colonise bits of your attention here and there, until gradually it starts to occupy a bigger and bigger part of it. Think about what you can be doing in that time. There is something to be said for the idea that not everything needs to be responded to, or deserves a response."



For many, WhatsApp group chats began infiltrating their time like Japanese knotweed during the Covid-19 pandemic. "Covid made WhatsApp far more important," says Dr Tali Gazit, a lecturer in information science at Bar-Ilan University in Israel. "We couldn't get out of the house, but we could have communities inside our phones."

Once the pandemic died down, however, the chats took on a different role. During the first lockdown, Amal, 21, a retail assistant from Birmingham, formed a 12-person WhatsApp group with friends from college. After things returned to normal, she says, the group chat fizzled out. "Everyone got back to being busy," Amal says. "But there were two people in the group who just couldn't come to grips with it ... It was a big thing for them."

These friends, says Amal, became fixated with her. They kept changing the name of the group chat to "Hello Amal" or "We Miss You Amal" in an attempt to get her attention. At first, Amal found the changes funny, if odd. But then "they came into my workplace", she says, and asked her if she wanted to come out for a drink. "It was confusing. I hadn't spoken to them properly in weeks." Amal declined, and left the WhatsApp group shortly afterwards. When she reflects on this experience, what she sees is "a sense of entitlement ... People have different interpretations of what it means to communicate, and their expectations of communication from a WhatsApp group."

Seymour says that WhatsApp is as addictive as other social media platforms such as Facebook or Twitter. "One thing WhatsApp has

The pressure to respond quickly, to be witty, to grandstand, to showboat, is very powerful



in common with these platforms is transience,” he says, “meaning that you have to respond quickly. Otherwise what you want to say is lost in the flow, particularly with fast-moving conversations. That pressure to respond quickly and to be concise, to be witty, to grandstand, to showboat – that is very powerful.”

He cites the anthropologist Natasha Dow Schüll’s concept of the “machine zone”, a trance-like state observed in casino gamblers who become entranced by the whirring and flashing of slot machines. “These machines regulate your emotions and give you losses designed as wins. WhatsApp does something similar,” says Seymour. Each notification rewards users with a tiny dopamine spike, locking us back into our smartphones, oblivious to the passage of time. “All these

platforms are structured around user engagement to maximise the production of data,” says Seymour. “WhatsApp wants you to be constantly logging in. Even if the loss is only that you spend much of your day in this distracted mode, think about what other enjoyment or pleasures you could be having in your life.”

Extracting yourself from these group chats can feel like being in a shallow but particularly vicious surf: every time you try to tear yourself away, you are knocked off your feet. Gazit says this is similar to a real-world phenomenon: the fear of missing out.

“We know this is harmful,” she says. “You’re constantly informed about what’s going on, and for a short while this may decrease your social anxiety, but in the long run, your anxiety is only going to grow. It seems like Meta [WhatsApp’s

parent company] knows this, which is why they use the alerts, as they feed our Fomo.”

“Our attention spans have become like that of a mayfly,” says Irene, a 41-year-old marketing strategist from London. “The chats are fun for a bit, but when you’re trying to get on with stuff, it’s like: ‘Dude, leave me alone!’ This is just mind clutter. It is input that isn’t going anywhere.”

In 2019, Irene’s friend asked her if she would be willing to coordinate an 80-person WhatsApp group on her behalf. It consisted of people from Germany and the UK, all attending the friend’s wedding. Irene recalls: “She said, can you make sure that if people talk about gifts, nothing doubles up? And can you also make sure people don’t plan any silly games, because we hate that?”

Irene, appalled, refused.

“I thought: I cannot fathom doing this. This will kill me. Just being in this WhatsApp group will kill me. But having to be the admin, and police stuff?” Her friend was upset. “I think she was quite pissed off with me,” says Irene. “Ultimately, it’s fine. It didn’t kill our friendship. But I think she thought that would be an act of service that I should really do for her. And I didn’t feel I could do that.”

Irene, at least, had the fortitude to refuse her friend’s request outright. For Claudia, a 32-year-old stay-at-home parent from Kent, such candour was inconceivable. She joined a group chat for parents she had met through an antenatal class while pregnant with her first child in 2014, but quickly found the group irritating.

“There was a bit of competition there,” she says. “One person would say she was struggling with breastfeeding, and another lady would chime in and say: ‘I’m finding it really easy.’”

As Claudia did not feel she could simply leave the group without social awkwardness, she told everyone she was leaving it because her dyslexia made it impossible to keep up with all the messages. Claudia is not dyslexic. “I hate confrontation,” she says apologetically.

The pressure to dissemble in social situations is strong, and this is why Gazit welcomes the new WhatsApp feature. “It should have been obvious from the beginning that notifying people when someone leaves a group harms their privacy,” she says. “Because everyone can see you are leaving the group, and a lot of people don’t want to leave because of that, because they feel it creates drama around them.” For those seeking to exit a quarrelsome group without social fallout, Gazit advises: “If you can leave the group quietly, I think that’s for the best.” Seymour suggests users who do remain switch off notifications on their WhatsApp chats. “Drop in once in a while,” he says. “Don’t take it seriously. Refuse to respond to obvious bait.”

It is worth remembering that WhatsApp, if used in moderation, can play a positive role in connecting people. “The world has become more lonely,” says Gazit, “and virtual communities can be solutions to the loneliness people feel.” Her research shows that those who belong to family WhatsApp

“So many people tell me they’re afraid they will offend others in the group if they leave

groups typically have better wellbeing than those who don’t.

She herself is an enthusiastic user. “I am a member of a WhatsApp group of mums who just had a new baby,” Gazit says. “I don’t know them personally, but we discuss the issue of new motherhood, they support me when I need, and we exchange information. It’s great. Virtual groups can be very powerful.”

And, of course, they are tremendously useful. “If something needs to be coordinated,” Irene says, “I’d set up a WhatsApp group for that specific reason. But I’d delete it afterwards. OK, we’ve organised this weekend away. The weekend is over! Goodbye.”

Seymour urges users to put their phones down and step out into the real world. “These platforms create a spurious intimacy,” he says. “It can feel like you are talking to your friends, but that is not what happens at all. You are talking to a machine. The machine takes a copy of your message, and passes it on, and you have a conversation on the terms of the machine. Perhaps people may wish to consider withdrawing their labour from that exchange, and only using it when they want and need to. Use WhatsApp for personal conversations, and keeping up with friends. But don’t let it damage your life.”

Because although it can feel as though WhatsApp group chats are substitutes for human contact, in effect what we’re really doing is smacking back conversations as if volleyed at us by a tennis-ball machine. It fires, we respond, and the hours pass.

We do not have to engage with these attention-devouring devices. We – all of us – can simply put down our rackets, and walk away.

Some names have been changed



Rare survivor ... this sculpture, built for Lloyd's, is now in a Zara store

Aztec mural? Try upstairs in womenswear

Why has Birmingham taken such appalling care of its architectural masterpieces? As yet more face the wrecking ball, **Oliver Wainwright** meets the people who are fighting to save their 'brutiful' city

The Ringway Centre, sweeping 230 metres along Birmingham's inner ring road in one continuous curve, is a striking monument to the heroic age of the UK's "motorway city". It stands like a protective wall, its four floors of offices framed by horizontal bands of abstract concrete reliefs and slender vertical fins, punctuated by a staccato rhythm of Corbusian bullhorn lamps. The taut ribbon of offices projects out over the street, sheltering a long parade of shops, and leaps over a road supported on dramatic angled columns - compared by their architect, James Roberts, to "the massive feet of a Martian monster".

Built in 1962, as highway fever was sweeping the city, the Ringway was the ultimate expression of "carchitecture": a building designed to be taken in at speed. It fused the American strip mall, the

British high street and the brave new world of inner city ring roads into what the Birmingham Pevsner architectural guide describes as "the best piece of mid-20th century urban design in the city". It even served as the glamorous backdrop for a Clint Eastwood photoshoot when he visited the city in 1967, posing moodily on the balcony of the hotel across the street.

But come here today and you won't see much of it. The entire building is engulfed in a bright purple shroud, installed for the recent Commonwealth Games, concealing the modernist facade behind a lurid billboard of gyrating letter Bs. It is an apt reflection of the council's attitude to its postwar heritage: as the world's eyes were focused on Birmingham, it chose to hide one of its most important buildings. Beneath the wrapper, the structure lies empty and condemned. Although it is locally listed, plans were unveiled in July to raze the entire complex and build three huge glass towers in its place.

"If the Ringway Centre comes down," says Mary Keating, "I'll have to leave Birmingham." She is standing beneath the building's

majestic facade, where the curved concrete lamps poke through the purple vinyl veil like pleading fingers, as if urging passersby to halt the wrecking ball. "The city has been hellbent on bulldozing its postwar heritage. This is one of the last and most important buildings we've got left."

Keating has been battling to save the city's brutalist architecture since 2015, when she came together with fellow retiree enthusiasts Jenny Marris and John Bell to form the Brutiful Birmingham action group. They were stirred into action by the fate of the city's Central Library, a muscular inverted ziggurat designed by local architect John Madin, which was shamefully torn down in 2016 - despite Historic England's repeated pleas that it should be listed. "It has been replaced by a load of tat," says Keating, referring to the insipid mixed-use development designed by Glenn Howells, inaccurately

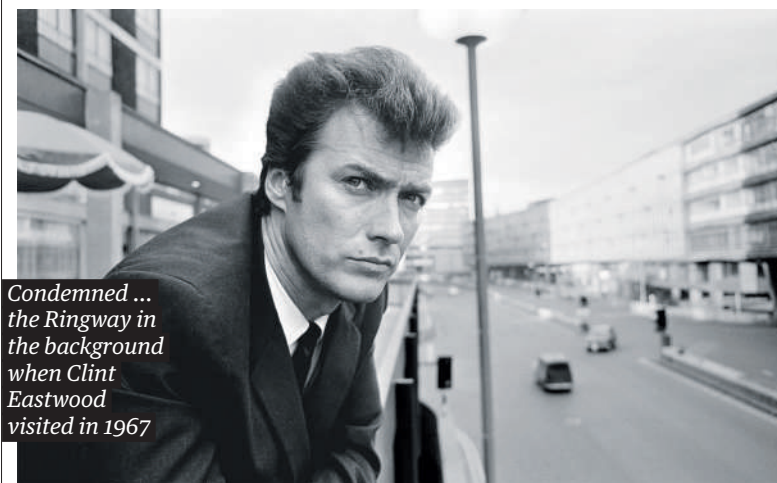
named Paradise. "It's all cladding and glass. It could be anywhere in the world. The city is destroying a period of our heritage that is so particular to Birmingham, for this featureless rubbish."

The campaigning trio have been venting their fury in the pages of the Birmingham Post over the last few years in a series of columns that are now brought together in a new book, *Birmingham: The Brutiful Years*, published by the Modernist Society. It is a lyrical love letter to a city that can sometimes be hard to love, walking the reader through Brum's postwar shopping precincts, speculative office towers, university campuses, public artworks, suburban churches and such tangled motorway intersections as Spaghetti Junction. Their enthusiasm is infectious: dry architectural history this is not.

As Keating and I pace the streets, the city centre unfolds as a patchwork of rare intrigue. We stop to admire the concertina frontage of House of Fraser, folded like sharply scored origami, and the undulating concrete canopy above a subway, punctured with cosmic circular lenses. We find handsome book-matched green slate panels over the entrance to Pandora, and fine mosaic-work above a Wagamama, next to an expressionist bronze relief over an unmarked door. We encounter bulbous sci-fi windows bulging on the corner above the Admiral Casino Slots Experience, as if ready for lift-off, and marvel at the chiselled zigzag balconies that rise above a Snappy Snaps, writhing with wrought-iron balustrades like the work of some Brummie Gaudí.

The last one is the extraordinary Grosvenor House on Bennett's Hill, one of the more expressive works of Cotton, Ballard & Blow, who built much of the postwar city centre - "little if any of which is said to have improved the look of that city", as the Spectator grumbled in 1959. Keating and her co-authors beg to differ, as does Historic England, which describes the Grade-II listed building as "a rare and delightful example of 1950s contemporary style at its most energetic". It's a wonderful piece of flash commercial design, crowned with a floating concrete and glass parasol.

While much can be enjoyed from the streets, some of the "brutiful" highlights require venturing indoors and nosing around unlikely



Condemned ... the Ringway in the background when Clint Eastwood visited in 1967



Wonders ... from
left, Grosvenor
House and
the Ringway



These places are part of people's psyche. If the Ringway Centre comes down, I'll have to leave Birmingham

places. One hidden treasure is to be found upstairs in the womenswear department of Zara. Behind the clothing racks stands a vast earth-toned cylinder encrusted with frenzied reliefs of spirals, grids and sunbursts. It has the air of an ancient Aztec monument. Press one of the panels and you half expect it to groan open and reveal a sacrificial altar.

It is the work of local sculptor John Poole, who originally designed it as the momentous focal point of what was, at the time of its creation in 1963, the double-height banking hall of Lloyd's. This vast mural, cast in "ciment fondu", is still there, protected by listing, although its lower half is sadly hidden in the Zara storeroom.

The reason for its preservation is that it stands in the base of the Rotunda, a 25-storey cylindrical tower designed by James Roberts (he of the Ringway) in 1965. It's one of the few buildings of the era to have been Grade II-listed. Clad in precast concrete panels faced with white mosaic tiles, with alternating bands of aluminium windows, Roberts envisaged it as a "huge candle in the middle of Birmingham".

After the planned observation deck and rotating restaurant were scrapped, Roberts moved his own office into the top two floors, where he could look out at his creations, including the twin Sentinel towers of council flats that keep watch over the city wall of the Ringway. Listed in 2000, the Rotunda was converted into apartments by Urban Splash to designs by Glenn Howells, replacing the delicate window frames and mosaic tiles with a clumsier

cladding system. "I think they messed it up," says Keating. "But at least it's still standing."

Sadly the same cannot be said for so much of Birmingham's postwar heritage. Madin's fine towers for the Post and Mail and the National Westminster Bank were both demolished and replaced with corpulent glass slabs, while the hungry jaws of the concrete crunchers are now nibbling their way through the brutalist Axis building, built for British Rail in the 1970s. The same sorry fate is set to afflict Corporation Square - described by the Pevsner guide as "Birmingham's best 1960s shopping development", and the only building in Birmingham designed by Sir Frederick Gibberd, the feted architect of Harlow New Town and Liverpool Metropolitan Cathedral.

The brutiful trio describe it as "a hint of Le Corbusier in Birmingham", its low-rise facades of white Portland stone, punctured by vertical slit windows, framing a courtyard oasis. But in 2020 the council approved plans by developer Hammerson to flatten the whole thing and replace it with a mixed-use "signature gateway" development - another galumphing commercial quarter of could-be-anywhere filler by Glenn Howells.

"All this demolition makes a mockery of the city's desire to reach zero carbon by 2030," says Keating. "Renovation and reuse would be eminently possible in all of these cases." She adds that it's not just about the architecture and embodied energy, but also the embodied memories in these structures. "It's about what these buildings mean to people on an everyday basis. People went to House of Fraser to have a nice time with their mum, or went for a night out at Snobs in the Ringway, or the Forum under the Gibberd building, which has hosted all sorts of famous bands. These places are part of people's psyche."

As we loop back to the Ringway, we see the Commonwealth Games slogan emblazoned across the hoarding: "Be bold, be Birmingham." If only the council would take heed of its own words, the city could be a model of creative postwar conservation and breathe new life into its brutiful past, rather than trampling it to dust. *Birmingham: The Brutiful Years, published by the Modernist Society, is out now*

How we made

It's a Mystery by Toyah

"The song opened every door for me. I went to have tea at St James's Palace. When I told Princess Margaret I was a punk rocker, she went: "Ohhh, how ridiculous!"



'Yeuch!' ...
Toyah in 1981;
below, the Four
from Toyah EP

Toyah Willcox Singer/songwriter

I was a cult punk singer playing sweaty little clubs and getting covered in so much gob that dry cleaners would go: "Yeuch! We're not touching that!" Then a brilliant PR woman called Judy Totton turned everything around. She put me in every parish magazine in the country that would talk to me. I soon had all these fans who said they discovered me because their parents or grandparents had told them about this punk rocker.

I was making singles that were eight minutes long with reams of lyrics and had never had a hit. When Safari Records played my 1980 single Ieya on rotation in the office, a man appeared at their door with a knife and said: "If you play that song again, I'll kill you!" I started working with a new producer, Nick Tauber, who said I needed to simplify the message. He was completely right.

It's a Mystery was written by Keith Hale. Safari were convinced it could be a hit, but I wasn't. The demo lasted 12 minutes, with a very long intro and an instrumental. We shortened it to under four minutes so it would get radio play. Then I wrote the second verse that begins: "It can treat you with a vengeance and trip you in the dark." That bit's about empowerment, because we're not in control even though we think we are.

Otherwise, it's a song about how life really is a mystery. It's a mystery to me that an aeroplane can fly! But the song is vague enough that everyone can read their own life story in it. I did the vocals in one take, then Nick said: "Could you be more contemplative at the beginning?" We redid the first four lines in a different voice, which made the rest sound like a call to arms.

It was released on an EP called Four from Toyah but there was a vinyl shortage at the time. Safari were ringing round to get old records sent to the factory so they could be melted down and pressed, making enough to get the song into the charts. Soon it was selling 75,000 a day and went to No 4. Having been unsure about the track, It's a Mystery opened every door for me. Shortly

afterwards, I went with Katharine Hamnett to have tea at St James's Palace with the Queen Mother. Princess Margaret was fabulous. She asked what I did and I said: "I'm a punk rocker." She went: "Ohhh! How ridiculous!"

Nick Tauber Producer

I went to the filming of an ATV documentary featuring Toyah's band and watched them play a song. They asked me what I thought and I said: "Do you want the truth?" I told them that the guitarist - Joel Bogen, who'd done everything with Toyah - was great, but I wanted to put a new band together for her. Toyah wasn't too happy about losing the other musicians but she was a very driven young lady and wanted to be successful. I brought in Nigel Glockler, a great drummer, an incredible bass player called Phil Spalding and an electronic whiz kid called Adrian Lee. They gave us a very contemporary sound.

A producer's job is to make records that are creative and representative, but it's no good having something that no one gets to hear.

Toyah's previous records were eclectic and dark but didn't have wide appeal. My role was to make things a bit more commercial. I spent hours in the studio with Adrian trying to sync things up because everything was manual in those days. To her credit, even though Toyah didn't like the song at first, she got it and understood why it would be a success.

She was a star the moment she walked out of her front door. She was the same in the studio. I'd previously worked with another punk band called Slaughter and the Dogs, who I loved dearly but they were difficult. They'd been thrown out of their hotel for wrecking it and they scribbled graffiti all over the studio control room on the first day of recording. There was none of that with Toyah. She never made a fuss. She just had to hear the music in her headphones and get the lights right in the vocal booth, then she'd nail it.

Interviews by Dave Simpson. Toyah's Anthem deluxe box set is out now. Her UK tour starts in Norwich on Friday





US Marines in biological warfare suits during an exercise at the Capitol in Washington DC

Review The Anthrax Attacks: In the Shadow of 9/11, Netflix

A true whodunnit of frustrated investigations and crude injustices

★★★★☆

Jack Seale



The 2001 anthrax attacks in the US are one of those feverish blips in the west's collective psyche, a story that dominated the news for a few intense weeks then faded, pushed aside in the run-up to the invasion of Iraq. Seeing that Netflix has a new feature-length documentary entitled *The Anthrax Attacks: In the Shadow of 9/11*, you would be forgiven for saying: "Oh yeah. The anthrax thing. What was all that about?"

To recap: less than a month after the twin towers came down, a man called Bob Stevens died, having inhaled lethal anthrax spores. It was the first such fatality on US soil for a quarter of a century, but not too much was thought of it until eight days later, when NBC News in New York received a letter contaminated with anthrax. The note was dated 11 September and consisted of crude threats, scrawled in the spindly capitals of an unstable kidnapper or serial killer: "TAKE PENICILIN [sic] NOW. DEATH TO AMERICA. DEATH TO ISRAEL." Similar letters were sent to the New York Post and two US senators; five people died, including two workers at a postal sorting office in Washington DC.

America panicked: 9/11 had been unimaginably horrific but it was a relatively isolated event. Now, with bio-terror's answer to the Zodiac killer on the loose – either al-Qaida, or a copycat capitalising on the nation's vulnerability for their own unknown reasons – it seemed anyone, anywhere could be in danger.

As this film combines archive footage and dramatic reconstructions with interviews with the relevant FBI

agents, and others affected by the case, it is curious that it pays little attention to how useful the anthrax attacks were to a government already planning to use 9/11 and the fear of Islamic extremism to bolster support for attacking Iraq. But that is a minor objection. By focusing on the investigation itself, *The Anthrax Attacks* throws up plenty of rage-worthy injustices and tantalising mysteries.

FBI agents recall how, faced with one of the cases of their lives, they were put on the back foot: they needed guidance from scientific experts, but soon realised that access to the kind of anthrax the killer was using was limited to those same experts. After months of frustrated investigations and with the lethal letters having long since stopped, Dr Steven Hatfill was finally named as a person of interest in June 2002. The documentary sets out a pattern of events that is familiar from countless high-profile criminal investigations, where law enforcement and the media – sharing an interest in finding a culprit to vilify – leap on someone who fits the profile but against whom there is no substantial evidence. Hatfill suffered a prolonged period of intense scrutiny, during which the public were strongly encouraged to believe his guilt. Years later, he won \$5.8m in compensation.

The film shows an admirable concern for the people who suffer when they become footnotes in a story with big stakes for the authorities. Colleagues and relatives of the two dead postal workers report how their workplace remained open for 10 days after anthrax contamination was suspected, the commercially valuable work of processing mail continuing even after investigators had appeared in the staff's midst wearing hazmat suits. The offices of media organisations and senior politicians had been shut down within hours, but their employees were better connected, better paid and, it's impossible not to note despite it not being spelled out, white.

Back to the investigation, and the film finds a sly way to convey how cold the trail went for the FBI once the Hatfill fiasco was over: where once there were captions on screen detailing specific dates, now we tick from 2003 to 2004 and 2005 without further news. Then there's a new chief suspect. We get a further tale of law enforcement convinced they have their man, this time with both the circumstantial evidence and the character profile pointing more forcefully towards guilt. A bold shift into dramatised scenes, starring Clark Gregg as the mercurial, troubled accused, deftly sketches the character of a man who is either obviously the killer or someone susceptible to becoming a fall guy, depending on who is looking.

A bewitching, maddening true story – crisply told here – concludes with just the ending a fiction writer would choose if they wanted to explore how, when it matters most, official accounts of events have a spooky tendency to become incomplete. The 2001 anthrax attacks will probably return to our peripheral vision, naggingly unsettling but now a little closer to sharp focus.

The Great British Bake Off 8pm, Channel 4



A new series of *Bake Off* is exactly what the nation kneads (sorry, it's just too easy). Among this year's 12 contestants: Carole with the candyfloss hair, nuclear scientist James and, last but not yeast, salsa-dancing and self-confessed space nerd Abdul. First up, it's cake week: the bakers must serve 12 mini-cakes, the perfect sponge and – strangely – a showstopper cake inspired by a house close to their hearts. As usual, Matt Lucas and Noel Fielding are on hosting duties, while Prue Leith and Paul Hollywood are judges.

Hollie Richardson

Storyville: Gorbachev. Heaven 9pm, BBC Four

How painfully symbolic it feels that the architect of glasnost should die at this time: hero to the west; traitor in his own land. In this intimate if wintry 2020 documentary, director Vitaly Mansky discovers the lonely 91-year-old Gorbachev in an empty house in Moscow – at once gnomish, wry and (understandably) wary. A quietly shattering portrait. **Ali Catterall**

Irma Vep 9pm, Sky Atlantic

The penultimate episode of Olivier Assayas's seductively meta series is upon us. With duct tape literally holding Cynthia Keng's latest scenes together, Mira (Alicia Vikander) harnesses her newfound powers as Irma Vep to do some serious eavesdropping. She also saves her director René from his own torment. **Danielle De Wolfe**

First Dates Hotel
9.30pm, Channel 4
Twins Bethany and Shannon check into the hotel in search of

love tonight, because dating with a sibling is not at all weird. Annie is also looking for love in Italy, which happens to be the last place she visited with her ex-wife. **HR**

The 74th Annual Primetime Emmy Awards

10pm, Sky Max
With 25 nominations, how many awards will *Succession* take home tonight? Or will new runners such as *Yellowjackets*, *Hacks* and *Squid Game* swoop in for the wins? Kenan Thompson – of *Saturday Night Live* fame – hosts TV's biggest event. **HR**

Rosie Jones' Trip Hazard 10.30pm, Channel 4

Abseiling down the National Lift Tower, anyone? It isn't the best start to Rosie Jones's tour of Northamptonshire with this week's guest, Lady Leshurr – who is terrified of heights. To warm up, they take a flight in a microlight, which is "essentially, a motorbike under a handkerchief". **HR**

And another thing

If for any reason you need a bolthole of sanity at the moment, Stewart Lee: *Snowflake is on iPlayer and is up there with his best work.*



BBC One

6.0 **Breakfast** (T) **10.0** News Special (T) **11.15** HM the King in Northern Ireland (T) **4.0** News (T) **4.30** HM the Queen: The Journey to London (T) **6.05** News (T) **6.25** Regional News and Weather (T) **6.45** The Eve of the Procession to Lying-In-State (T)

9.0 **The One Show** (T) Another mix of nationwide reports and live studio-based chat. **9.30** **EastEnders** (T) Kat is less than pleased to see ex-husband Alfie, who begs her not to marry Phil. Billy panics when he learns what Freddie has done and Mick feels helpless trying to help Frankie.

10.0 **News at Ten** (T) **11.0** **Regional News and weather** (T) **11.10** **News** (T)

BBC Two

6.05 **A To Z of TV Gardening** (R) **6.50** Sign Zone: Nature's Weirdest Events (R) **7.20** Antiques Road Trip (R) **8.05** Coast (R) **9.05** Lifeline (R) **9.15** Animal Park (R) **10.0** The Farmers' Country Showdown (R) **10.30** Wanted Down Under (R) **11.15** Homes Under the Hammer (R) **12.15** Bargain Hunt (R) **1.0** News **1.45** Doctors **2.15** Money for Nothing (R) **3.0** Escape to the Country **3.45** The Bidding Room (R) **4.30** Antiques Road Trip **5.15** Flog It! (R) **5.30** Live Women's T20 Cricket **7.0** Celebrity Antiques Road Trip

8.0 **Fake Or Fortune?** (T) The origins of a 17th-century painting of Christ hanging in a Port Glasgow church. **9.0** **All That Glitters: Britain's Next Jewellery Star** (R) Katherine Ryan hosts a contest where eight jewellers battle it out to prove they can be the next big jewellery-making sensation.

10.0 **Mortimer & Whitehouse: Gone Fishing** (T) (R) **10.30** **Newsnight** (T) and weather. **11.15** **Martin Compston's Scottish Fling** (T) (R) **11.45** **Inside the Factory XL: Diggers** (R) The JCB plant. **12.45** **Sign Zone** Picturing Elizabeth: Her Life in Images (R) **1.45** The Hotel People (T) (R) **2.45** This Is BBC Two (T)

ITV

6.0 **Good Morning Britain** (T) **9.0** Lorraine (T) **10.0** This Morning (T) **12.0** ITV News: The King's Tour – Northern Ireland (T) **1.30** News (T) **4.0** ITV News: Queen Elizabeth II – Return to the Palace (T) **6.10** Local News (T) **6.20** News (T)

8.05 **Emmerdale** (T) As Ethan tries to convince Naomi to do the right thing, Kim prepares to reconnect with a much-missed Millie. **9.05** **Charles, the Monarch and the Man** (T) Documentary on King Charles III, who took over as monarch following the death of his mother, Queen Elizabeth II.

10.0 **News** (T) **10.50** **Local News** (T) and weather **11.0** **Our Queen the People's Stories** (T) Members of the public share their memories of Queen Elizabeth II. **12.0** **Shop: Ideal World** **3.0** Take the Tower (T) (R) **3.45** Unwind With ITV (T) **5.10** Ainsley's Mediterranean Cookbook (T) (R)

Channel 4

6.10 **Countdown** (T) (R) **6.50** 3rd Rock from the Sun (T) (R) **7.40** Everybody Loves Raymond (T) (R) **9.0** Frasier (T) (R) **10.30** Four in a Bed (T) (R) **11.0** The Great House Giveaway (T) (R) **12.0** News (T) **12.30** Steph's Packed Lunch (T) **2.10** Countdown (T) **3.0** A Place in the Sun (T) (R) **4.0** Chateau DIY (T) **5.0** Moneybags (T) **6.0** The Simpsons (T) (R) **6.30** Hollyoaks (T) (R) **7.0** News (T)

8.0 **The Great British Bake Off** (T) Noel Fielding and Matt Lucas welcome 12 new contestants into the tent, baking mini cakes and two sponges, including one in the shape of a house close to their hearts. **9.30** **First Dates Hotel** (T) Twins Bethany and Shannon arrive at the Italian hotel.

10.30 **Rosie Jones' Trip Hazard** (T) Rosie and rapper Lady Leshurr face a 418ft abseil. **11.35** **Gogglebox** (T) (R) **12.35** **24 Hours in A&E** (T) (R) **1.30** The Simpsons (T) (R) **2.20** **FILM** The Dressmaker (2015) (T) **4.15** Perfect House, Secret Location (T) (R) **5.15** The Great Home Transformation (T) (R)

Channel 5

6.0 **Milkshake!** **9.15** Jeremy Vine (T) **12.45** Holiday Homes in the Sun (T) **1.40** News (T) **1.45** Home and Away (T) **2.15** **FILM** A Midsummer's Hawaiian Dream (Harry Cason, 2016) (T) **4.0** Bargain-Loving Brits in the Sun (T) (R) **5.0** News (T) **6.0** Cash in the Attic (T) **6.55** News (T) **7.0** Dogs Behaving (Very) Badly (T) (R) **7.55** News (T)

8.0 **The Yorkshire Vet** (T) Peter Wright helps a pregnant cow that is expecting twins. **9.0** **The Pyrenees With Michael Portillo** (T) The broadcaster retraces the route through the Catalanian Pyrenees his father used to flee in 1939 as a political refugee from the Spanish Civil War. Last in the series.

10.0 **The Great Smog: Winter of '52** (T) **11.0** **FILM** An Officer and a Gentleman (1982) (T) **1.20** **Casualty 24/7: Every Second Counts** (T) (R) **2.10** A&E After Dark (T) (R) **3.05** Britain's Favourite Chocolate (T) (R) **4.45** Amazing Cakes & Bakes (T) (R) **5.30** Peppa Pig (T) (R) **5.35** Paw Patrol (T) (R)

BBC Four

7.0 **Live Women's T20 Cricket** (T) England v India. Coverage of the second match of the series, which comes from The Incora County Ground in Derby.

9.30 **Storyville: Gorbachev. Heaven** (R) A portrait of the late Mikhail Gorbachev, a hero to the west because of his policies of Glasnost and Perestroika, but blamed in his own country for destroying the Soviet empire.

11.10 **Ted Hughes: Stronger Than Death** (T) (R) How the poet's life shaped his work, includes an interview with his daughter Frieda. **12.40** **Sylvia Plath: Inside the Bell Jar** (T) (R) **1.40** The Normans (T) (R) **2.10** Cities: Nature's New Wild (T) (R) **2.40** Timeshift: The Great British Seaside Holiday (T) (R)

Other channels

BBC Three

7.0pm Top Gear **8.0** The Fast and the Farmer-ish **9.0** Squad Dates **10.0** The Rap Game UK **11.0** Ladhood **11.25** This Country **11.50** The Fast and the Farmer-ish **12.20** The Fast and the Farmer-ish **12.50** Squad Dates **1.50** The Rap Game UK **2.45** This Country **2.50** Cuckoo **3.15** Cuckoo

Dave

6.0am Teleshopping **7.10** Yianni: Supercar Customiser **7.35** Yianni: Supercar Customiser **8.0** Border Force: America's Gatekeepers **9.0** Storage Hunters UK **9.30** Storage Hunters UK **10.0** Sin City Motors **11.0** Expedition With Steve Backshall **12.0** Bangers and Cash **1.0** Border Force: America's Gatekeepers **2.0** Top Gear **3.0** Rick Stein's Secret France **4.0** Top Gear **5.0** Rick Stein's Secret France **6.0** Taskmaster **7.0** Richard Osman's House of Games **7.40** Room 101 **8.20** Would I Lie to You? **9.0** QI XL **10.0** Live at the Apollo **11.0** Have I Got a Bit More News for You **12.0** Mock the Week **12.40** QI **1.15** QI XL **2.25** Room 101 **2.55** Would I Lie to You? **3.25** Mock the Week **4.0** Teleshopping

E4

6.0am Hollyoaks **6.30** Hollyoaks **7.0** Ramsay's Kitchen Nightmares USA **8.0** Black-ish **8.30** Black-ish **9.0** How I Met Your Mother **10.0** The Big Bang Theory **11.0** Young Sheldon **12.0** Brooklyn Nine-Nine **12.30** Brooklyn Nine-Nine **1.0** The Big Bang Theory **3.0** Young Sheldon **3.30** Young Sheldon **4.0** Married at First Sight UK **5.0** The Big Bang Theory **7.0** Hollyoaks **7.30** The Big Bang Theory **8.0** Below Deck: Mediterranean **9.0** Married at First Sight UK **10.0** Celeb Cooking School **11.05** Naked Attraction **12.10** First Dates Hotel **1.15** Married at First Sight UK **2.15** Celeb Cooking School **3.10** Below Deck: Mediterranean **4.0** Brooklyn Nine-Nine **4.25** Brooklyn Nine-Nine **4.50** Baby Daddy **5.10** Baby Daddy

Film4

11.0am **FILM** Waterloo Road (1944) Second World War drama, starring John Mills. **12.35** **FILM** Border River (1954) Western, starring Joel McCrea. **2.20** **FILM** The Court-Martial of Billy Mitchell (1955) Courtroom drama,

starring Gary Cooper. **4.25** **FILM** The Long Ships (1963) Viking adventure, starring Richard Widmark and Sidney Poitier. **7.05** **FILM** Fantastic Four (2015) Superhero adventure, starring Miles Teller. **9.0** **FILM** Raiders of the Lost Ark (1981) Action adventure, starring Harrison Ford. **11.15** **FILM** A Hidden Life (2019) Drama, starring August Diehl.

ITV2

6.0am World's Funniest Videos **6.25** World's Funniest Videos **7.0** Love Bites **8.0** Secret Crush **9.0** Veronica Mars **10.0** One Tree Hill **11.0** Hart of Dixie **12.0** Supermarket Sweep **1.0** Family Fortunes **2.0** The Masked Singer US **3.05** Veronica Mars **4.0** One Tree Hill **5.0** Hart of Dixie **6.0** Catchphrase Celebrity Special **7.0** Secret Crush **8.0** Bob's Burgers **8.30** Bob's Burgers **9.0** Family Guy **9.30** Family Guy **10.0** Plebs **10.30** Plebs **11.0** Family Guy **11.30** American Dad! **11.55** American Dad! **12.25** Bob's Burgers **12.55** Bob's Burgers **1.25** All American **2.20** World's Funniest Videos **2.45** Unwind With ITV **3.0** Teleshopping

Sky Max

6.0am Stargate SG-1 **8.0** The Flash **9.0** DC's Legends of Tomorrow **10.0** Supergirl **11.0** NCIS: New Orleans **1.0** Hawaii Five-0 **2.0** MacGyver **3.0** DC's Legends of Tomorrow **4.0** The Flash **5.0** Supergirl **6.0** Stargate SG-1 **8.0** A League of Their Own **9.0** The Blacklist **10.0** The 74th Annual Primetime Emmy Awards **12.0** Brassic **1.0** Road Wars **2.0** Never Mind the Buzzcocks **2.45** Hawaii Five-0 **3.50** MacGyver **4.55** Highway Patrol

Sky Arts

6.0am Reinventing the Orchestra With Charles Hazlewood **6.55** Romeo and Juliet **9.0** Tales of the Unexpected **10.0** Alfred Hitchcock Presents **11.0** Discovering: Shirley MacLaine **12.0** Vermeer from the National Gallery **1.0** Tales of the Unexpected **1.30** Tales of the Unexpected **2.0** The Art of Architecture **3.0** Portrait Artist of the Year **2014** **4.0** Discovering: Charles Bronson **5.0** Tales of the Unexpected **6.0** Alfred Hitchcock Presents **6.30** Alfred Hitchcock Presents **7.0** Discovering: Elizabeth Taylor **8.0** Cezanne:

Portraits of a Life **9.0** I, Claude Monet **10.0** Catherine the Great **11.10** The South Bank Show **12.45** The Directors **1.45** Les Dawson's Parisienne **Adventure: Urban Myths** **2.15** Joan Rivers and Barbra Streisand: Urban Myths **2.45** **FILM** Jerry Lewis: The Man Behind the Clown (2016) **4.0** Discovering: Elizabeth Taylor **5.0** Cheltenham Literature Festival

Sky Atlantic

6.0am Fish Town **7.45** Boardwalk Empire **10.0** The Sopranos **12.15** Ray Donovan **2.25** Game of Thrones **3.30** Boardwalk Empire **5.45** The Sopranos **7.55** Game of Thrones **9.0** Irma Vep **10.05** House of the Dragon **11.10** Munich Games **1.10** Succession **2.20** The Affair **3.30** In Treatment **4.0** Fish Town



Irma Vep, Sky Atlantic

Radio

Radio 3

6.30am Breakfast **9.0** Essential Classics **12.0** Composer of the Week: Bruckner (2/5) **1.0** Radio 3 Lunchtime Concert. Chamber music highlights from last month's Machynlleth Festival. The Navarra Quartet joins forces with bassist Leon Bosch in Dvořák's String Quintet, Op 77. **2.0** Afternoon Concert. Penny Gore presents music from festivals around Europe, including a concert given by the Verbier Festival Orchestra featuring Bartok and Shostakovich. **5.0** In Tune **7.0** In Tune Mixtape **7.30** Radio 3 in Concert. Donald Runnicles and the BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra perform Ottorino Respighi's Pines of Rome and Carl Orff's almighty cantata Carmina Burana. **10.0** Free Thinking: What language did Columbus speak? John Gallagher and guests look at language during the Age of Exploration. **10.45** The Essay: Sign Language Is My Language. Tina Kelberman shares her story of growing up in a Jewish household using BSL. (2/5) **11.0** Night Tracks **12.30** Through the Night (R)

Radio 4

6.0am Today **9.0** The Life Scientific: Judith Bunbury on the Shifting Nile River in the Time of the Pharaohs. (2/7) **9.30** One to One. Gillian Burke continues to explore her love of gospel music. (2/7) **9.45** (LW) Daily Service **9.45** (FM) Book of the Week: A Visible Man (2/5) **10.0** Woman's Hour **11.0** The Curious Cases of Rutherford & Fry. Hannah Fry and geneticist Adam Rutherford investigate allergies. (5/6) **11.30** Icon: Image, Reflection, Shadow. New series. The celebrity culture that enveloped Elizabeth Taylor. (1/6) **12.0** News **12.01** (LW) Shipping Forecast **12.04** Call You and Yours **12.57** Weather **1.0** The World at One **1.45** The Boy in the Woods: A Body Is Found (2/10) **2.0** The Archers (R) **2.15** Love Across the Ages. Drama. By Shahid Iqbal Khan. **3.0** Short Cuts (2/5) **3.30** Costing the Earth: Future Tourists (2/13) **4.0** The Listening Project. Members of the public share intimate conversations. **4.30** The Digital Human: Reflections (R) **5.0** PM **5.54** (LW) Shipping Forecast **5.57** Weather **6.0** Six O'Clock News

6.30 Alone: The Toy Man. By Moray Hunter. (5/6) **7.0** The Archers **7.15** Front Row **8.0** File on 4: Children's Homes – Profits Before Care? The standards of care provided by “for profit” children's homes. (8/10) **8.40** In Touch **9.0** Can the Police Keep Us Safe? (R) **9.30** The Life Scientific (R) **9.59** Weather **10.0** The World Tonight **2 10.45** (FM) Book at Bedtime: The Maid (7/10) **11.0** Fortunately (3) **11.30** The Digital Human (2/6) **12.0** News and Weather **12.30** Book of the Week: A Visible Man (R) **12.48** Shipping Forecast **1.0** As BBC World Service **5.20** Shipping Forecast **5.30** News Briefing **5.43** Prayer for the Day **5.45** Farming Today **5.58** Tweet of the Day (R)

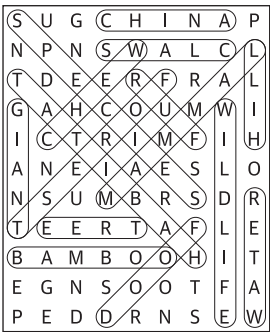
Radio 4 Extra

6.0am Some Mother's Son (6/6) **6.30** Agatha Raisin (2/6) **7.0** The Break (3/6) **7.30** Alone (4/6) **8.0** The Goon Show **8.30** King Street Junior (5/8) **9.0** Mitch Benn's Crimes Against Music (3/6) **9.30** The Older Woman (2/6) **10.0** The No.1 Ladies' Detective Agency (2/2) **10.45** Short Works **11.0** Music Hall Reclaimed

12.0 The Goon Show **12.30** King Street Junior (5/8) **1.0** Some Mother's Son (6/6) **1.30** Agatha Raisin (2/6) **2.0** Adventures of a Young Naturalist (2/5) **2.15** Eleanor Rising (2/5) **2.30** The Hotel Suite **3.0** The No.1 Ladies' Detective Agency (2/2) **3.45** Short Works **4.0** The 3rd Degree (3/6) **4.30** The Older Woman (2/6) **5.0** The Break (3/6) **5.30** Alone (4/6) **6.0** Journey Into Space (13/13) **6.30** Soul Music (2/5) **1.0** Some Mother's Son (6/6) **1.30** Agatha Raisin (2/6) **2.0** Adventures of a Young Naturalist (2/5) **2.15** Eleanor Rising (2/5) **2.30** The Hotel Suite **3.0** The No.1 Ladies' Detective Agency (2/2) **3.45** Short Works **4.0** The 3rd Degree (3/6) **4.30** The Older Woman (2/6) **5.0** The Break (3/6) **5.30** Alone (4/6)

Yesterday's solutions

Wordsearch



Solution no 16,333



Sudoku no 5783

6	8	7	1	4	9	3	5	2
3	2	1	8	5	7	6	9	4
4	5	9	6	2	3	7	1	8
5	1	6	3	8	2	4	7	9
7	4	2	5	9	1	8	6	3
9	3	8	7	6	4	1	2	5
2	7	3	4	1	5	9	8	6
1	6	5	9	3	8	2	4	7
8	9	4	2	7	6	5	3	1

Word wheel
INANIMATE

Suguru

1	2	5	3	5	1
3	4	1	4	2	3
2	5	2	3	5	1
4	1	4	1	4	2
3	5	3	2	3	1
2	1	4	1	4	2

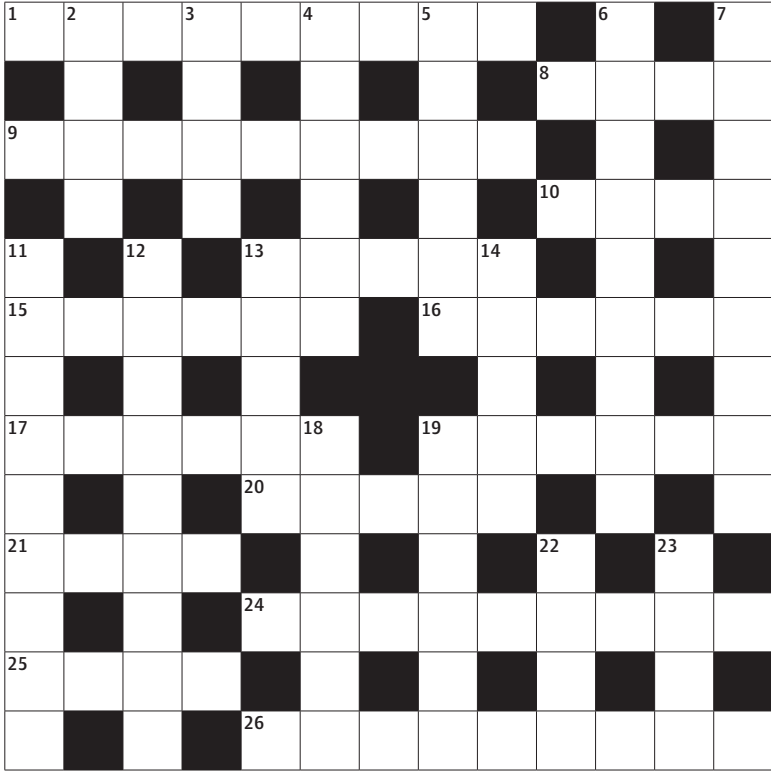
Quick crossword no 16,334

Across

- 1 The Indian film industry (9)
- 8 One thirty-sixth of a yard (4)
- 9 Church gallery for a large keyboard instrument (5,4)
- 10 Indistinct representation (4)
- 13 Subdued (5)
- 15 Shout aimed at the umpire (6)
- 16 Comfy and warm (6)
- 17 Short light sleep (6)
- 19 Light clear red colour (6)
- 20 Gum boot (informal) (5)
- 21 Hurt (4)
- 24 Observance of proprieties (9)
- 25 Tizzy - exasperated sigh (4)
- 26 Sleeping policeman (5,4)

Down

- 2 Brute (4)
- 3 Common sense (informal) (4)
- 4 Hard dark-brown wood used in making furniture (6)
- 5 Counteract (6)
- 6 Cite snail (anag) (9)
- 7 A fruity colour? (6,3)
- 11 Latin American dance (3-3-3)
- 12 Deactivate, eg an engine (6,3)
- 13 Large and showy Central and South American parrot (5)
- 14 Youngest of Snow White's dwarfs (5)
- 18 Showing the suppression of emotions? (4,2)
- 19 Exclusive circle of people with a common purpose (6)
- 22 Native of Belgrade? (4)
- 23 Listed thing (4)



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Sudoku no 5784

Medium. Fill the grid so that each row, column and 3x3 box contains the numbers 1-9. Printable version at theguardian.com/sudoku

		7	1		
	1			5	
7					3
2					7
		5	8		
4			3		9
		8	3		
6	3		4		2
9	8			4	6

Suguru

Fill the grid so that each square in an outlined block contains a digit. A block of 2 squares contains the digits 1 and 2, a block of three squares contains the digits 1, 2 and 3, and so on. No same digit appears in neighbouring squares, not even diagonally.

	4				
			3		
			5		2
					4
			2	1	

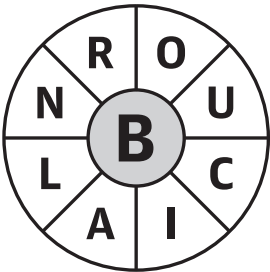
Wordsearch

Can you find 15 words associated with bed in the grid? Words can run forwards, backwards, vertically or diagonally, but always in a straight, unbroken line.

N	C	Y	S	N	O	R	E	K
O	S	M	A	E	R	D	T	A
D	C	L	B	U	N	K	A	T
O	S	S	E	R	T	T	A	M
F	U	E	D	E	N	A	P	Y
F	A	O	Z	I	P	I	E	S
T	Z	I	E	O	L	L	B	W
E	M	I	R	L	O	I	T	O
V	L	P	O	B	R	N	E	R
U	C	W	R	C	E	A	S	D
D	D	I	V	A	N	D	I	N

Word wheel

Find as many words as possible using the letters in the wheel. Each must use the central letter and at least two others. Letters may be used only once. You may not use plurals, foreign words or proper nouns. There is at least one nine-letter word to be found. TARGET: Excellent-42. Good-35. Average-26.



Pet corner

What is the name of the animal that served in the US military for 18 months in the first world war and was called the most decorated war dog?

- a. Lieutenant Lucky
- b. Captain Crunch
- c. Major Maxy
- d. Sergeant Stubby

Answer top right



The new Met chief must protect the public *Shabnam Chaudhri, page 3*

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The Guardian **Tuesday 13 September 2022**

Opinion
and ideas

Journal



Tin-eared Truss can afford tax cuts – so why not nurses' pay?

**Polly
Toynbee**



Stop all the strikes, delay the nurses' ballot, and abandon this year's pivotal TUC annual conference in mourning for the Queen. You might note this respect for the late monarch from workers facing gigantic pay cuts was not matched by the London Stock Exchange, which has missed not a nanosecond of trading in shares, including among those companies profiteering from high energy prices. Imagine the outrage at lese-majesty from the Mail and other papers had Mick Lynch done the same.

Before long, strikes will resume among ever more unlikely "militants"; Daily Express journalists, criminal barristers and postal workers will be striking. So will refuse collectors, firefighters, Felixstowe dockworkers and a gathering storm of other workers who cannot absorb huge pay cuts on top of the lowest wage growth in the G7.

So far, public opinion backs them, as pollster James Frayne of Public First recently told Politico. "There's a lot of public sympathy for strikers. Most people think, well, if I was facing a 10 or 20% pay cut, and was in a job where I could strike ... I would do it," he said. The pay of public sector workers has

been hit hard by freezes and cuts, so it has fallen well behind the private sector. People know that unions speak for them. If the minority who belong to unions are successful, it will pull up everyone's pay – in an economy that has more than one million vacancies.

It's impossible to know how far sympathy for strikes will stretch if they are seriously disruptive, but Liz Truss's ill-judged threats of even tougher anti-strike laws, Jacob Rees-Mogg's bonfire of working rights or the likes of MP Tobias Ellwood calling rail workers "Putin's friend" will probably only stir up more support.

Next up are the nurses. The Royal College of Nursing in England, Wales and Scotland has never gone on strike, but any remnants of a sense of Florence Nightingale duty have been blown away by the conditions within the NHS. Pat Cullen, the RCN's general secretary, has been touring hospitals talking to members ahead of the now-delayed ballot. It's a sign of the times that none of the hospitals the RCN contacted allowed me to accompany Cullen and listen to nurses.

Barring the press from scrutinising frontline services is now the norm: the NHS is too intimidated by pressure from the government and the upheaval of four

*A mural in
Shoreditch,
east London,
April 2020*

PHOTOGRAPH:
HENRY NICHOLLS/
REUTERS




2

Tin-eared Truss can afford tax cuts - so why not nurses' pay?

Polly Toynbee

← Continued from front

 health secretaries in 18 months. This was never the case under Labour. I've been refused permission to visit a jobcentre numerous times. For a decade I have been requesting to observe HMRC's minimum wage inspectors at work, yet every time I have been refused.

Cullen says nurses will vote to strike, not just for pay but against working conditions so intolerable that 8% fewer applicants are training to become nurses this year. "Many drop out with second thoughts when they see what's ahead," she told me. That is a growing disaster for the NHS when there are more than 46,000 vacancies. Nursing students are clocking up £50,000 debts after their bursaries were cut in 2017. Those nurses work all hours on unpaid placements, including evenings and weekends. They are increasingly relied on for washing, bathing and feeding patients by overworked registered nurses who don't have enough time to give them proper instruction.

"What they see is 13-hour shifts from 7am to 8pm, often staying later unpaid because short-staffed wards have just three registered nurses and two healthcare assistants caring for 30 very sick elderly patients," Cullen said. She talks to exhausted nurses, afraid of the dangers in their impossible workload. "The new secretary of state should take time to walk in their shoes for a week."

In real terms, the RCN says, nurses have lost 10% in pay since 2010. About 60% are stuck in the lowest band 5 for registered nurses, earning between £25,000 and £28,000. Many more have remained there to save the government money, when they might have previously progressed up the pay scale more quickly. Many London nurses can't afford to rent locally. "Some travel two hours each way, at a cost of £500 a month. I defy any politician to live like that, paying rent and childcare, never owning a car or home," Cullen said. Vacancies from departed EU nurses are taken by nurses recruited from countries on the World Health Organization red list, such as Nepal, which can't spare them. "But when they get here foreign nurses can't survive on their pay ... they beg me to help them get home again."

Nurses worried about striking have asked Cullen how they can leave their patients. She tells them how the successful five-day strike she led in 2019 in Northern Ireland won nurses a rise: they staffed all emergency work in A&E and wards but stopped planned surgery, adding to already soaring waiting lists. A strike by nurses, and probably doctors and other health workers, would mean the NHS sliding yet further. The service is already overwhelmed, with 6.8 million people waiting for operations in England. Despite legislation allowing P&O-style strike-breaking by agency workers, in Northern Ireland nursing agencies refused to supply them. Cullen says that in England, Wales and Scotland, nursing agencies would refuse this time too.

Last week she had a chance encounter with four nurses at a railway station. "They'd reluctantly just left the NHS as they couldn't survive. They were on their way to work in private boarding schools crying out for nurses, paying twice as much, with free accommodation. They were amazed they'd get double time for work after 4.30pm." There are plenty more such easier nursing jobs.

Truss needs to make a strategic decision before winter strikes build to a crisis. Will she relish a fight with workers who are resisting unprecedented cuts after the past decade of wage stagnation? She mistakenly thinks the blame will land on Labour and its support for union rights. She would be far wiser to make the same U-turn as she did on energy bills. If the government can afford to borrow £150bn, compensating even well-off people while wasting a fortune on tax cuts for rich people, then it can afford to make fair pay settlements with public workers. If she wants a Thatcher-esque showdown, Tin-Eared Lizzie will find herself on the wrong side of public sympathy. Two-thirds of voters support a nurses' strike.

The Guardian

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'Comment is free... but facts are sacred' CP Scott

King Charles III

The monarchy is a secular society's religion. MPs should not bend the knee

The departure of one monarch and the arrival of another raises the question of what Britain has lost in the transition. The death of the Queen feels to some like the loss not of bearings but of the nation's compass itself. Monarchy is a form of religion. In a secular age, it is easier to disavow God than the monarchy. Plainly much of the country is grief-stricken, though the proportion who were unmoved or critical is unknown. But the advent of King Charles III brings about a sense of change - and foreboding.

Even among the more detached, touched by unsuspected sorrow, the new sovereign will gain support. But the new King is not as popular with the public as his mother. That is a problem for Charles III and the institution he heads because in a democracy monarchies depend on public consent. One only has to look at Prince Andrew. The King's younger brother's ill-fated BBC Newsnight interview - in which he defended his association with the convicted sex offender Jeffrey Epstein - saw his approval ratings sink to 7%. Walking behind his mother's coffin on Monday is a rare public outing for a prince who was once second in line to the throne.

Modern societies expect their institutions to change and keep in step with the values and aspirations of the public. The great success of Elizabeth II as monarch was to keep her considerable exercise of soft power out of the public view so that it is not threatened by scrutiny. The sovereign's power rests on the fact that monarchical consent must be

obtained in advance before the introduction of any bill that interferes with the prerogative powers of the crown and effects on the crown's private interests. King Charles, like his mother, will have the ability to exercise influence before final decisions are made. Both these aspects of consent should be abandoned.

There should be a wider consideration of royal reform by parliament. While the late Queen volunteered to pay some income tax in the 1990s, her son did not pay inheritance tax - and the £650m private estate of the Duchy of Lancaster passed to King Charles untaxed. That deal needs to be reviewed. The royal finances are obscured by what is private and public property. A quarter of the profits from the crown estate are given to the reigning monarch in the form of a grant. Last year this was worth about £85m. But the bill for royal security is picked up by the state - bringing the annual cost of the monarchy to £350m. For all the protestations of moth-eaten palaces, the cost of living crisis has yet to make headlines in the royal household.

A divided Britain, in which the late Queen was a glue, cannot disregard the consequences of her departure. Brexit opened up constitutional fissures - notably when the supreme court ruled unlawful parliament's prorogation in the name of the crown. The powergrab by Boris Johnson to assume the royal prerogative to dissolve parliament remains contested by constitutional experts.

Who is the head of state does matter. Birthright is not the right way to choose one. Parliament is the place to decide whether Britain needs a slimmed down monarchy - or one at all. There is an appeal to a sovereign standing above the fray in an age of political populism. But MPs should not bend the knee before inheritance and rank. Modern Britain has little need for trappings and privileges that belong to another age.

Ukraine

Kyiv's counteroffensive is a stunning breakthrough in the lead-up to winter

The burnt-out tanks, abandoned crates of ammunition and other evidence of swift, chaotic Russian flight tell their own dramatic story. The stunning, lightning offensive by Ukrainian troops in the north-east of the country constitutes the most significant moment in the war since March, when Vladimir Putin's assault on Kyiv was repulsed and his invading forces beat a hasty retreat eastwards.

Over five days, thousands of square kilometres of the occupied east, including the strategically vital cities of Kupiansk and Izium, have been liberated. According to Ukrainian commanders, Russian troops have been pushed back to the border. The Institute for the Study of War estimates that the counteroffensive has taken control of more territory than Russian forces have managed in all operations since April. Skilful use of western rockets and artillery allowed the Ukrainian military to successfully target Russian supply lines and erode its massive advantage in military hardware. Already low in morale - and lacking elite combat troops who had been dispatched to deal with a prior offensive in the south - Russian fighters abandoned overnight territory that had been won after weeks of attritional warfare.

It would be rash to underestimate the possible ferocity of Moscow's response. Subsequent Russian missile attacks on the power grid in Kharkiv suggest that the Kremlin may be plotting the most brutal of energy wars this winter, depriving Ukrainians of heat and light. That is a dire prospect, and such targeting of

civilian infrastructure provides yet more evidence of the criminal ruthlessness of Mr Putin. Fighting during the coming weeks is certain to continue to ebb and flow. But the north-eastern offensive has given Ukrainian forces invaluable momentum for the vital period before the winter freezes the conflict, and put stretched Russian lines on the back foot.

Mr Putin's plan B, following the humiliating debacle of his own blitzkrieg on Kyiv, was to consolidate and expand Russia's grip on Ukraine's east. Incremental progress backed by relentless use of heavy artillery already appeared to have stalled in a summer stalemate. The shamolic Russian retreat of recent days has now led to a growing drumbeat of disquiet on popular ultra-nationalist blogs and will further damage morale on the ground. While not yet unpopular, it is becoming hard for even practised media propagandists to present Mr Putin's "military operation" as a success.

For Volodymyr Zelenskiy, the gains in the north-east will be a priceless lobbying asset as he seeks to persuade western allies to step up delivery of the advanced weaponry used so effectively by his commanders. The successful counteroffensive - and smaller gains in the south - has undermined the idea that Russian consolidation in those regions is inevitable. The strength and determination of Ukrainian resistance will be redoubled, and it will become harder for Russia to establish its authority in recently occupied eastern territory. Ultimately, driving Russian forces back to at least within the territories taken over in 2014 no longer seems implausible. But first there will be the grimmest of winters to endure. This could lead to another exodus of refugees, at a time when domestic economic hardship is stretching goodwill among European populations. The most significant achievement of a stunning string of victories may be to encourage western nations to stay the course in a war that is a long way from reaching any kind of conclusion.



To the new Met chief: protect the public, not just your force

Shabnam Chaudhri



As a former senior police officer with more than 30 years' service working on the frontline and ending my career at the rank of detective superintendent, I know only too well how challenging policing can be – not least for a new commissioner of the Metropolitan police.

Yesterday, Mark Rowley took over Britain's biggest force, and with it the toughest challenge of all: to restore trust and confidence in an organisation whose public standing is at rock bottom.

Rowley's predecessor, Cressida Dick, resigned in February after the mayor of London, Sadiq Khan, made clear he had lost confidence in her leadership. It's easy to see why: on her watch, the Met was plagued by a catalogue of scandals. The murder of Sarah Everard last March by serving Met officer Wayne Couzens – and the notorious handling of a vigil on Clapham Common – ignited intense feelings of anger and disgust. While an independent review found the Met acted appropriately at the vigil, it should have read the situation better. It missed a vital opportunity to protect and restore trust with the women and girls who felt betrayed that night.

Or consider the stop and search in July 2020 of the Team GB athlete Bianca Williams and her partner, Ricardo dos Santos. Regardless of whether the stop was justified or not, the young mother – with her child of three months – begged officers not to drag her out of the car, as seen in video footage shared by Williams on social media. And yet Dick openly supported the actions of her officers.

Or what about the initial refusal to investigate Partygate? Or when a review into the investigation of the murder of the private investigator Daniel Morgan, found dead in the pub car park, with an axe embedded in his head, concluded in March that the force's ability to tackle corruption was "fundamentally flawed"? The persistent defence of inexcusable behaviour at the highest level has had a ripple effect on policing, implying a blanket authority for rank-and-file officers to behave as they please, knowing they have the backing of leaders. All this does is cement the toxic culture that all officers know exists across policing.

Police officers at the vigil held in memory of Sarah Everard on Clapham Common, south London, March 2021

PHOTOGRAPH: VICTORIA JONES/PA

*** Shabnam Chaudhri** is a former detective superintendent

Mark Rowley must start with dishing out some tough love. This means no longer defending the indefensible

The strip-search in 2020 of Child Q, and the discovery that officers in a WhatsApp group with Couzens were sharing racist and sexist messages, were perhaps the last straw. In June the Metropolitan police were, for the first time ever, tipped into an enhanced stage of monitoring by the state, known as "special measures" or the "engage" stage. That formally acknowledged what so many who were entitled to better support and to justice have long known: the Met has fallen below acceptable standards and requires increased scrutiny to provide support and improvements.

In my own policing career, I have seen how easily a toxic culture can embed itself into an organisation, how racist, sexist and misogynistic behaviours at all ranks can be disguised and downplayed as "banter". Yet even I could not have prepared myself for the shocking actions of the two Met police officers who took images at the murder scene of victims Nicole Smallman and Bibaa Henry, so arrogant that they felt comfortable in their own skin to do this.

Rowley steps into the job this week with all this and more in front of him. His first day on the job will involve the preparation and planning of the state funeral for Queen Elizabeth II, expected to take place at Westminster Abbey. There can be no greater honour on a commissioner's first day. But then it will be to business. He must now climb a mountain to get back to the basics of policing – effectively investigating crimes and bringing offenders to justice – let alone rebuild the trust of the public.

We know Rowley must have a plan: in the dying days of her stewardship of the home office, Priti Patel, demanded the incoming commissioner immediately deliver his first 100-day plan to "renew policing by consent – more trust, less crime, high standards", adding: "It is absolutely vital that trust and confidence is restored." The development of a detailed plan may well have formed part of the process for appointing a new commissioner, and secured his appointment.

So, what must change? It begins with dishing out some tough love. This means no longer defending the indefensible, policing on behalf of the public, not the so-called police family. I know many officers will not welcome this, but Rowley must accept the labels that, years after the Macpherson inquiry first judged the Met police "institutionally racist", still haunt Scotland Yard. If his fellow leaders cannot accept a new reality, he must find a new set of fellow leaders. After Chris Kaba was shot dead by officers in Streatham, south London, a search of the scene found no gun linked to the 24-year-old. His family has accused the Met of being institutionally racist and is seeking accountability from the Independent Office for Police Conduct.

This is a case that matters. It resonates. And it must be tackled before the Met can truly press ahead with the important job of protecting the public. If Rowley doesn't get his house in order, he will never win the public's hearts and minds, and isn't that what policing by consent means?



Commonwealth nations deserve a royal apology

Nalini Mohabir



I live at the crossroads of the Commonwealth. My home is Canada, where First Nations people have called on King Charles to renounce the doctrine of discovery as his first official act. This law sanctioned the colonial possession of Indigenous lands and has justified violence against Indigenous people. I live in the French-speaking province of Quebec, which was ceded to the British empire in 1763. And I am also a member of the Caribbean diaspora, a region that was violently pulled into the production of sugar to satisfy the bourgeois tastes of the British empire.

For the people of formerly colonised countries, the monarchy is not a neutral institution. It is the embodiment of imperial legacies that benefited

Britain at the expense of its colonies, and played an active role in the slave trade. Queen Elizabeth I financially backed slave-trading voyages and, by the 17th century, King Charles II granted royal approval to the Company of Adventurers of London Trading to the Ports of Africa, marking the moment at which transatlantic slavery officially began.

In the mid-20th century, when Caribbean countries were agitating for independence, the British government, under prime minister Winston Churchill, sent warships to British Guiana, a member of the Commonwealth, and openly removed an elected government in 1953. Even after Caribbean countries achieved independence, many remained members of the Commonwealth and retained colonial curriculums in their schools, and were sold consumer dreams by companies bearing royal warrants. Yet these associations did little to protect these member states. Indeed, when Grenada was invaded by the US in 1983, Britain did not intervene.

For remembering this history just when the Queen's coffin is travelling through Britain, I might be accused by some of speaking ill of the dead. The media have been dominated by reverential comments and melancholic coverage. Some have focused not on the Queen as the personal embodiment of empire, but rather as the figurehead of political institutions.

The monarchy has been politically and economically devastating for former colonies. It has also had damaging consequences for those who live in its gilded cage. King Charles III was required to marry and produce an heir; as a consequence, he married into an unhappy relationship that eventually fell apart. Prince Harry and Meghan's relationship has been the subject of racism from the tabloids and allegedly from royal family members, leading the couple to make the decision to leave "the firm".

Britain and the Commonwealth now have a new king. What else has died with Elizabeth? Barbados recently made the landmark decision to free itself of imperial bonds by removing the Queen as head of state. Following the Queen's death, other Caribbean countries may follow suit. The Caribbean is still undergoing the process of decolonisation; many countries are dealing with the open wounds inflicted by colonial conquest and resource extraction. They are shifting from being smaller nations within a neocolonial world to protagonists that are actively unsettling the legacies of empire through calls for reparations.

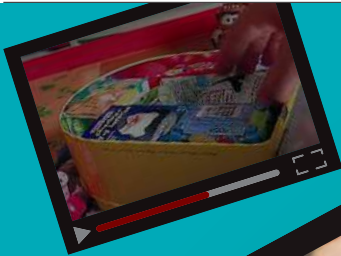
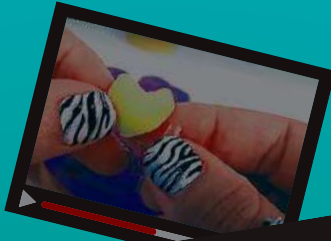
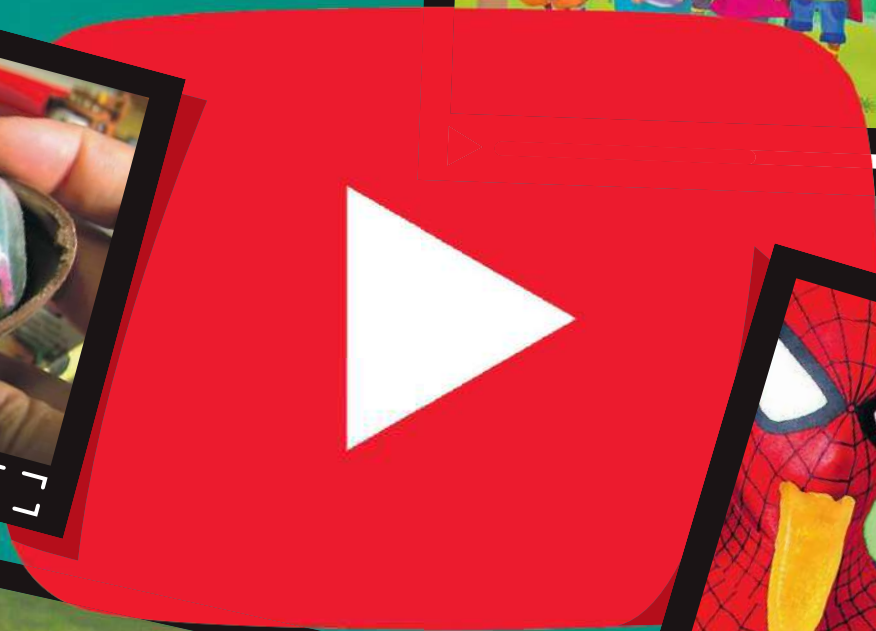
Across the Caribbean, countries such as Jamaica, the Bahamas and Belize are calling for reparations. These demands were only accelerated after the disastrous visit of Prince William and Kate earlier this year. Such reparations would mean not just an apology, but distributive justice between so-called developed and developing countries. Integral to reparations is the idea of repairing unequal, one-sided relationships.

In his first address to the British nation and Commonwealth "realms", King Charles said "relationships change, friendship endures". Yet friendship requires accountability, especially when there's a power imbalance – such as when one side speaks of service and duty but such aspirations remain unfulfilled. Surely in 2022, 70 years after his mother ascended the throne in 1952, we have a more nuanced and accurate understanding of these issues. What might duty look like if we understood that debts need to be paid and apologists held accountable? What might public service mean if we understood that imperial attitudes and monarchic institutions must be abolished for an alternative future to be born?

*
Nalini Mohabir
is an associate professor of geography, planning and environment at Concordia University in Canada

How kids' content on YouTube got really weird

In the early days, much of the children's material available on YouTube was broadly educational. But before long some seriously strange stuff started to appear. By Mark Bergen



Harry Jho worked out of a 10th-storey Wall Street office, in which one corner was stacked with treadmill desks and another was filled with racks of colourful costumes and a green screen for filming nursery rhymes. He worked as a securities lawyer. With his wife, Sona, Jho also ran Mother Goose Club, a YouTube media empire.

Sona had produced short children's segments for public-access TV stations before the couple decided to branch out on their own. As educators - the Jhos once taught English in Korea - they saw television's pedagogical flaws. To learn words, kids should see lips move, but Barney's mouth never did. Baby Einstein mostly showed toys. The Jhos, who were Korean American, had two young children, and noticed how few faces on kids TV looked like theirs.

So they started Mother Goose Club, investing in a studio and hiring a diverse set of actors to don animal costumes and sing Itsy Bitsy Spider and Hickory Dickory Dock. It was like Teletubbies, only less trippy and inane. The Jhos planned to sell DVDs to parents, ginning up interest for a possible TV show. YouTube offered a convenient place to store clips, and, in 2008, Jho started an account there, not thinking much of it.

Two years in, he started checking the account's numbers after work. One thousand views. He checked the next day. Ten thousand. He couldn't find many other videos for kids on YouTube. Maybe, instead of television, he thought, we can be the first to do this.

It was the spring of 2011 when he received an email from someone at YouTube, a division of Google. Jho read it but did not believe it. He had long since given up on trying to speak to a human from the company. Once, at an event, an employee had handed him a business card, which he thought was a promising sign until he looked down to see the email address - support@google.com - and no name. Now, a YouTube employee was extending an invitation to Google's Manhattan office. At the meeting, they showed Jho plans for the site's forthcoming redesign and shared some tips. Finally, Jho asked the question he was itching to ask: "Why did you call us?"

"You might be the biggest YouTuber in New York," the staffer replied.

This was news to Jho. He and his wife - softly spoken professionals who wore glasses and sensible clothes - looked more like PTA parents than YouTube influencers. They were accidental stars on an online platform that would accidentally build the world's largest kids' entertainment service. In 2010, the world first met the iPad, a handy device for frazzled parents of toddlers, with an easy-to-use YouTube app. Soon enough, YouTube would add an auto-play function that mechanically teed up one video after another. After the Google meeting, the Jhos saw even more traffic on their channel. YouTube let them into the company's ads programme.

In 2012, YouTube switched its ranking and recommendation system to favour videos that kept viewers watching longer, and very quickly Mother Goose Club got company. It began with Blucollection (now Blu Toys Club Surprise), an anonymous account that only posted videos of a man's hands scooting toy figurines across a floor. The Jhos watched as these clips appeared in the sidebar next to theirs, one by one. Similar videos followed, carpeting the entire sidebar. Then they saw these videos take over YouTube.

Parents and bureaucrats have always cared what kids are watching. In the 1970s, a federation of advocates and educators who had helped put Sesame Street on air pushed for tighter regulation of commercial activity on children's TV in the US, worried that kids could not distinguish programmes from ads. Saturday morning cartoons were forbidden to pitch products. A 1990 US law, the Kidvid rules, went further, requiring broadcasters reaching children to air a certain number of hours of educational programming and place time limits on how often commercials were aired. Networks tried bending the rules, but regulators held up the threat of licence removal.

Then the internet arrived. An alarmist 1995 Time cover showed a blond boy at a keyboard, his eyes lit in horror-schlock glow, above the menacing word "Cyberporn". "When kids are plugged in," Time asked, "will they be exposed to the seamiest side of human sexuality?" Lawmakers governing the modern internet were so focused on threats of sex and violence that they ignored other concerns, such as the balance of educational content in media and the potential developmental impacts of unchecked consumerism. Privacy activists, worried about the creeping panopticon of web trackers like Google's cookies, pushed US Congress to regulate children's browsing.

Websites were openly inviting kids to share the sorts of personal details marketers valued. "Good citizens of the Web," read a promotional site for the movie Batman Forever, "help Commissioner Gordon with the Gotham census." A minor victory for activists came in 1998 with the Children's Online Privacy Protection Act (Coppa), which prohibited websites from collecting information from those under 13 for use in targeted advertising. But the law gave enforcement to a different agency (the Federal Trade Commission) from the one overseeing television (the Federal Communications Commission) and had none of the rules concerning educational programming or commercials that TV had. Old media also had rules about talent. Certain states, including California, restricted the hours child actors could appear in TV or movies and set safeguards for their earnings. The internet didn't.

But kids were clearly heading online, and the massive kids' entertainment complex was eagerly coming with them. YouTube had seen this migration early. Before Google acquired the video service in 2006, YouTube vice-president Kevin Donahue, a former Cartoon Network producer, had pitched YouTube's founders on a kids' version of their site. They directed him to the company lawyer, who shot down the idea.



A Time magazine cover from 1995

MATT MAHURIN/
TIME MAGAZINE

Child protection required websites to do acrobatics to pull something like this off, and YouTube was then so thinly staffed that it needed all its legal resources for copyright issues. YouTube required uploaders to check a box stating that they were over 13. The site's terms of service declared it was only for people above that age, and so, on paper, it was.

Google had arrived at similar conclusions. Yahoo, its old archnemesis, once ran a kids' website (Yahooligans!), and a few times a year someone at Google would propose a kid-friendly version of Google search. The idea never made it past the sticking point: how do we decide what is kid-friendly? Once YouTube joined Google - the search giant paid \$1.65bn for the video site in 2006 - a few parents on staff spotted nursery rhymes, ABCs and toy clips clearly made for toddlers and fretted about their quality. "Kind of total crap," recalled one mother there.

Any proposals for cleaning the crap had to go through Hunter Walk, YouTube's top product manager. Walk embraced YouTube's youth culture cachet and knew the kids' world - he had interned at toy maker Mattel during business school and once worked at a children's bookstore. Yet when colleagues pitched a kid-friendly YouTube, he said no. YouTube simply didn't have enough premium kids' material to make this anything but a lousy version of cable, he said. YouTube had some TV classics but called these "nostalgic", not kids' content. Staff knew juvenilia like Fred Figglehorn - the goofy YouTube persona of a Nebraska teen, who rose to early stardom on the site - but had convinced themselves that the audience was mostly teenagers, bored with TV, and that anyone under 13 watched with adult supervision, like the site's small print said they must.

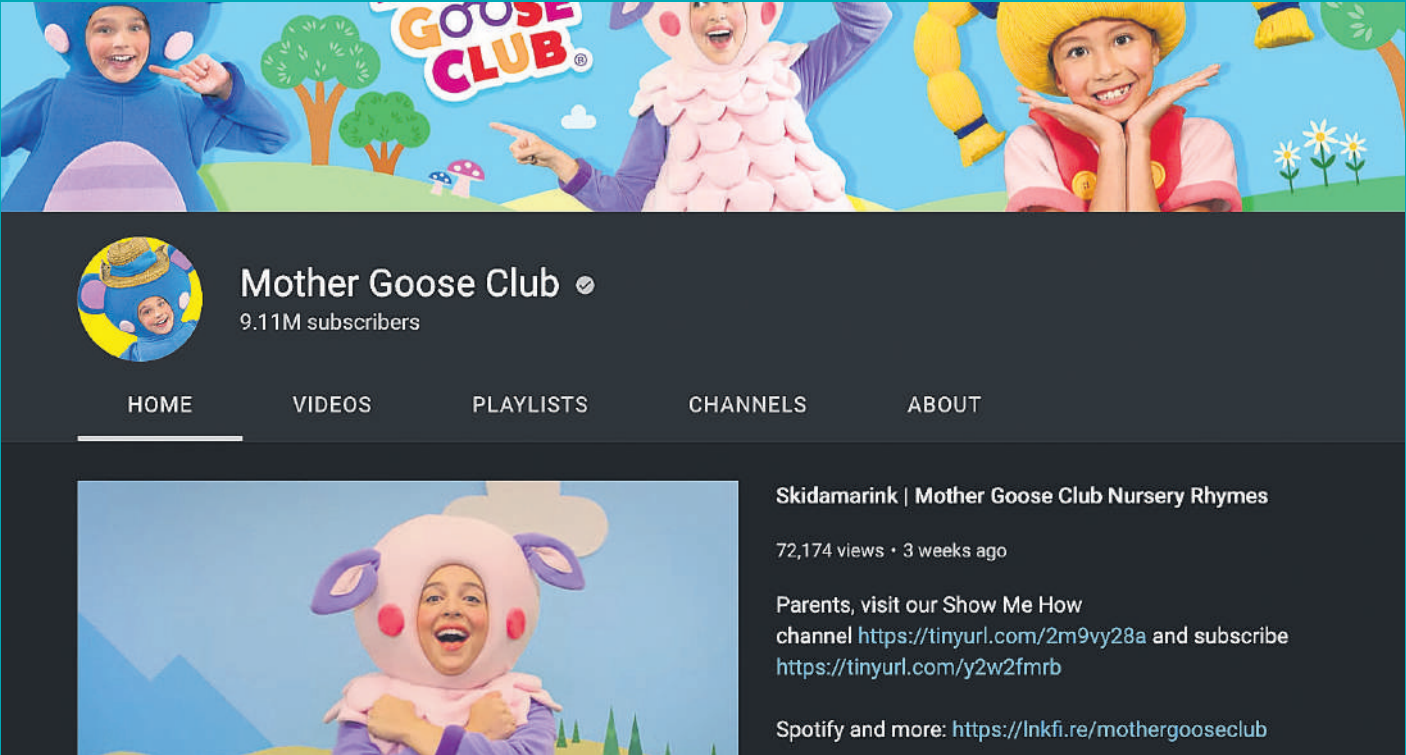
But enough stuff clearly made for young kids was piling on to the site that some at YouTube felt they had to do something. Some started working on a separate app for the youngest viewers. Others tried to promote the surplus of educational videos on YouTube for older kids - maths tutorials and quirky science explainers. Walk lobbied educators and politicians to let YouTube inside schools, promising that the quality material would rise to the top.

Yet as the company tried to promote its wholesome content, it was blindsided by a strange beast born within its walls, charging hard in another direction.

Each week YouTube's marketing team sent around a "What's Trending" report on the site's emerging fads. The business team also monitored a chart of the site's top 100 ad earners. One odd channel started landing in the trending reports and soaring up the earnings chart: DisneyCollectorBR.

This YouTuber never showed a face or a real name. A wildly popular video set the camera on two dozen toy eggs from Disney franchises. A quiet voiceover announces each egg methodically before she unwraps them: "Mickey Mouuuuse ..." She peels back the foil casing with a soft, crisp sound. Then the chocolatey layer, a satisfying crackle. Then the tiny plastic capsule holding a toy, a treasure. Then another.

YouTube had never seen a force like DisneyCollectorBR. By the summer of 2014, the channel's most popular video, a four-minute unwrapping of Kinder Eggs, had 90m views. Overall its videos were watched a whopping 2.4bn times. Tubefilter, an online ranking system for YouTube, placed DisneyCollectorBR as the third-most viewed channel behind YouTube star PewDiePie and Katy Perry. Soon the channel claimed gold. A research firm estimated it raked in as much as \$13m a year from YouTube ads. The videos contained something uncanny and new, tapping into neurons in children's brains in a way that few fully understood. Certainly, no one at YouTube did. Unboxing videos had begun years before in tech reviewer circles, with footage treating iPods and smartphones as fetish items. Now the Kinder Surprise Egg, a marginal product developed in Italy, took on totemic significance. The Kinder Surprise Egg is banned in the US, with the authorities citing the small toys inside as choking hazards, so YouTubers chasing DisneyCollectorBR's trend started buying



these eggs on eBay, like contraband.

Fellow YouTubers developed a name for this strange trend: “The faceless ones.” Like earlier YouTube hits, these channels sought views using Google’s central corridor, search. Here’s the mishmash written beneath a DisneyCollectorBR video: “Princess egg, frozen eggs, Scooby doo, hello kitty, angry birds, sofia the first, winnie the pooh, toy story, playdoh surprise.” It’s a keyword soup. Titles for toy unboxing videos, another exploding trend, followed a similar logic: “Choco Toys Surprise Mashems & Fashems DC Marvel Avengers Batman Hulk IRON MAN.” Titles like these weren’t made for the intended viewer, or even their parents. These were made for algorithms – for machines to scrape and absorb. Disney, like many media giants, refused to put its prized material on YouTube. So when people typed “Frozen Elsa” or “Marvel Avengers” (Disney bought Marvel in 2009) into the search bar, the machines showed them the faceless ones.

Most of these faceless channels, like DisneyCollectorBR, were anonymous. Other early YouTubers typically sought fame with real names or at least faces. They had managers, agents, hangers-on, Twitter profiles. To earn ad money, YouTubers had to provide the company with a legal name and an email address, but YouTube liked to keep this information walled off from staff for security reasons. YouTube faced an unprecedented situation with DisneyCollectorBR: the people running the company knew next to nothing about its most popular channel.

Someone at YouTube now called Harry Jho with a



Once, the Mother Goose Club nursery rhyme channel was overtaken with promotions for a new horror film

Top: an unofficial Peppa Pig parody video; above: the Mother Goose Club YouTube channel

YOUTUBE/MOTHER GOOSE CLUB

different question: “Do you know who they are?”

Jho had never quit his Wall Street job, even after Google’s money began flowing in, because it never flowed steadily. Some months, during summers or holidays, the Jhos’ channel made \$700,000 from YouTube ads. But at other times it dropped to \$150,000. How could they hire a large staff and ensure steady salaries? If YouTube were their sole income, “we would have gone crazy from the stress”, Jho recalled.

YouTube’s inexplicable algorithms were another source of mounting stress. The company’s machines struggled to distinguish Jho’s type of programming from others. Once, the Mother Goose Club YouTube page was overtaken with promotions for a new horror film, an Exorcist spin-off. Right beside Skip to My Lou was a thumbnail of a demon-possessed girl shrieking.

“We’re a kids’ channel,” Jho said. “No one wants to see that.” He tried in vain to complain to YouTube. Eventually, he found a fix: if he bought ads for his own channel to run on YouTube, not only did the Exorcist trailer disappear, but his traffic also shot up.

By 2014, Kinder Surprise Eggs had overrun YouTube, and the formula for getting into the “related videos” sidebar – and, thus, to get in front of kids – looked clear. The Jhos held a meeting in their Manhattan office. They looked at the columns of bright, keyword-stuffed videos from DisneyCollectorBR and its countless imitators.

“It’s really cheap to make these videos,” Jho observed. “We could set up a room. Go buy these toys for a couple thousand bucks.”

They looked at the columns again. Finally, a friend who was there in the office piped up. “This is just like porn,” he said. “This is toy porn.”

They dropped the proposal.

In 2015, with kids’ material ballooning on YouTube, the company introduced YouTube Kids, an app with bigger, bubblier buttons for smaller fingers and settings for parents including a built-in timer. The company unveiled it as “the first Google product built from the ground up with little ones in mind”. YouTube hoped that children would only watch on the app, not its main site. But that didn’t happen. And soon, kids’ content mutated into something even stranger than the faceless ones.

One popular YouTube channel, Webs & Tiaras, operated out of Quebec City, and featured actors performing vaudeville antics dressed in cheap Halloween-store getup on a drab row-house street. They staged plots without dialogue – usually a romantic narrative between Spider-Man and Elsa from Frozen, the damsel in distress. The channel’s owner identified himself only as Eric, a pseudonym. Some YouTubers suspected bot traffic. But just as likely was that Webs & Tiaras was exploiting a perfect algorithmic storm: a huge surge in kids’ programmes, plus a continued vacuum of mainstream fare. Because Frozen and superhero franchises didn’t appear on YouTube in official form, any parents or kids typing “Elsa” or “Spiderman” into the site were shown popular entries from Webs & Tiaras – again and again. “Some of these are probably seen by the same child 50 times,” Phil Ranta, an executive with the digital studio that signed the Webs & Tiaras channel, told a reporter in 2017. “It really helps to juice those numbers.”

Once Webs & Tiaras hit on the magic formula of costumes plus the strange pairing of two popular kids’ search terms, like any good YouTuber, “you just keep repeating the thing that went viral,” said Ranta. Webs & Tiaras was deeply weird: videos depicted costumed Elsas with chicken feet or a “brain belly”. But Ranta, a former standup comic, insisted that the channel was “pretty harmless”, operating like old silent films or cosplay theatre for kids. And its plots, such as placing characters behind bars, were catchy. “You’re a little kid and you’re like: ‘Wow, I love Elsa. I love Spider-Man. What? They’re in jail?’” said Ranta. ““That’s a story I’ve never heard before.”” *Click.*

With its success came a wave of imitators. Some borrowed tropes from YouTube pranksters – another hot trend – who competed in carrying out the most absurd stunts. At this point the superhero genre got even weirder. Elsa flushed Spider-Man down the toilet, “evil Santa” kidnapped Elsa, Spider-Man injected Elsa with strange liquids. Elsa often gave birth. “You half expect the scenarios to be porn setups,” a blogger wrote about the trend in February 2017. Prominent YouTubers started posting videos about the bewildering trend taking over the site. At Disney, an executive working for its digital network prepared a report that showed all of Disney’s promotional clips on YouTube generated about 1bn views a month. Amateur videos featuring Elsa, the report concluded, had 13bn monthly views.

That year, Harry and Sona Jho, the Mother Goose Club creators, noticed that one of YouTube’s top-trending terms was “bad baby”. That category included benign animated clips





of defiant toddlers, as well as gross-out live-action fare showing kids overeating and puking. Toy Freaks, a channel launched by Greg Chism, a single father of two young girls in southern Illinois, specialised in the latter. Chism pranked his two school-age daughters, who were dressed as infants. He wore pacifiers with his daughters in videos, playing out “bad baby” scenarios that got huge traffic. One video showed one of the girls wiggling loose a tooth, screaming and spitting blood. (In the clip Chism calmly reassured his screaming daughter, but this wasn’t evident to people who only saw the video’s bloodiest stills.) Toy Freaks climbed YouTube’s charts.

In March 2017, the BBC ran a damning story. Shocked parents had found their toddlers watching violent, nightmarish clips on YouTube. An off-brand Peppa Pig tortured at the dentist. Mickey Mouse playing pranks with faeces. Minnie Mouse dismembered and bloodied. YouTube’s machines saw these only as children’s cartoons.

The superhuman artificial intelligence behind YouTube’s recommendations were often described as “black box” systems, since they operated in ways humans couldn’t fathom. To many at YouTube, the flood of disturbing kids’ material reminded them that they didn’t have the box’s combination. “It took on a life of its own, and no one was really minding the store,” one person at the company recalled.

During the summer of 2017, a team at YouTube started looking closely at videos aimed at kids that felt problematic. The employees, even those accustomed to seeing bizarre, shocking material on YouTube, were floored. The success of Toy Freaks had inspired dozens of mimics (“replica content”, the company called it). Some used “keyword stuffing” to ride algorithmic waves such as “bad baby” – an old spammer’s tactic of filling a video with unrelated tags, for machines’ eyes only. When YouTube staff watched “bad baby” videos featuring minors, some felt a sickening discomfort. Several of the videos followed a trend of shaving young children’s faces on screen as punishment. (Real or fake shaving? It wasn’t clear.) Others had kids gorging to show distended bellies, a trope from porn. The company had long had rules against child exploitation and sexual fetishes. These videos didn’t break them, but came close. For years, YouTube had relied on parents to steer children

Peppa Pig tortured at the dentist, Mickey Mouse playing pranks with faeces – the algorithms just saw these as children’s cartoons

towards YouTube Kids, yet the app’s relatively meagre traffic showed this wasn’t working.

Staff invented a new category (“borderline fetish”) and wrote policies for moderators and machines to detect videos that fell into it. YouTube made another label for footage that mixed children’s characters with “adult themes” – the screwy Peppa Pig fare and legions of Spider-Man-Elsa mashups.

In September 2017, a meeting was scheduled at headquarters with engineers, publicists, and Trust and Safety personnel. They were ordered to come up with plans to handle “problematic content” faster, and to communicate better with creators. Tech companies often named these kinds of crisis-response operations “war rooms”. This new group, executives decided, was to be a “constant war room”. One of its first battle plans involved purging the site of “borderline fetish” material such as Toy Freaks. Enough people had watched this footage and determined that children were either being ordered to appear on-screen or placed in uncomfortable situations.

And yet YouTube did not want to move too fast. The company was still recovering from advertising boycotts earlier that year, the result of ads appearing alongside extremist videos. This scandal had deprived thousands of creators of income. Any rash changes, YouTube worried, might spook creators or send advertisers fleeing again. When one ad agency complained that autumn about troubling kids’ content, YouTube officials came back with a stock reply.

But then, an avalanche hit. James Bridle, a British author who wrote about drones and warfare, had turned their attention to kids. Bridle published a very long entry on the blogging site Medium with a catchy

title, *Something Is Wrong on the Internet*.

Bridle’s writing was crisp and detailed, but their visuals told enough of a story. Bridle’s post first displayed stills from surprise eggs unboxing, nursery rhymes and Peppa Pig fakes – categories with tens of billions of views. Scroll down the article and everything looked worse. Still after candy-coloured still, disturbingly identical, each tailored for YouTube’s algorithm: “bad baby” offshoots, demented cartoons and even more surreal material, such as “wrong heads” – disembodied Disney figures floating on screen. There was a vast field of Toy Freaks replicas mixing pranks with Spider-Man-Elsa superhero strangeness. “Industrialised nightmare production,” Bridle called it, before adding the kicker: “To expose children to this content is abuse. ... And right now, right here, YouTube and Google are complicit in that system.”

Longtime YouTubers such as the Jhos had seen these trends rise, but most people – parents of toddlers, even Google employees – had no idea this sort of material existed. Within YouTube, which tracked everything online, staff saw a huge, disconcerting spike in Twitter activity about Bridle’s post. The Times wrote a story about advertisers who appeared on Greg Chism’s videos angrily pulling their money. Its title: “Child abuse on YouTube”. Subtitle: “Google makes millions from disturbing videos.”

After the Times article came out, YouTube executives held an emergency meeting, and ended up deleting more than 270 accounts, including Toy Freaks. Chism released a statement noting how troubled he was “that anyone would find inappropriate pleasure in our video skits”. Law enforcement in Illinois began investigating Chism for child endangerment, but Rich Miller, an Illinois police chief, admitted to BuzzFeed News, “finding the proper criminal aspect to being a bad parent at times is challenging”. Ultimately, Chism was cleared of any charges.

Harry and Sona Jho began 2020 bracing for a painful shock. In the previous two years, YouTube had seriously cleaned up its act with regard to kids, rewiring its system to scrub the surreal Elsa-Spider-Man clips and other disturbing material. Advertisers were reassured. But regulators had finally come for YouTube – in 2019, the US Federal Trade Commission fined the company for violating children’s privacy laws.

That ruling meant YouTube couldn’t serve targeted ads on videos aimed for children under 13, which would diminish sales for kids’ channels. The Jhos planned to film more nursery rhyme videos for a reserve catalogue to make up for the ad shortage. Then the pandemic hit, and filming became impossible. Marketers paused spending everywhere, unsure how consumers would proceed. The Jhos watched ad rates crater.

Quarantines, it turned out, were very good for their viewership. Kids stuck at home watched like crazy. By the end of 2020, half of the top 10 most viewed channels on all of YouTube were preschooler fare. A year into the pandemic Harry Jho cautiously admitted the audience surge had helped Mother Goose Club. “It’s not rosy, but we’re not laying people off,” he said.

Regulation and public pressure had also forced YouTube to pay more attention to quality. YouTube stopped treating its Kids app as an algorithmic free-for-all and assigned staff to curate the selection. In a statement, YouTube said: “Over the past several years, we’ve partnered with child development specialists to develop age-appropriate experiences and protect kids at every stage of life.” The company started a fund for kids’ YouTubers and told creators it would finance videos that show traits such as humility, curiosity and self-control. YouTube said its system would reward clips that encouraged young viewers to go do things offline.

“This is about as healthy an algorithm environment as I’ve ever seen,” Jho admitted in 2021. To him, it felt as if YouTube had relinquished some of its blind faith in machines. It felt as if humans were actually involved. ●

This is an edited extract from Like, Comment, Subscribe: Inside YouTube’s Chaotic Rise to World Domination by Mark Bergen, published by Viking and available at guardianbookshop.co.uk

GETTY

*** Mark Bergen** is a reporter with Bloomberg based in California

Established 1906

Country diary
*Caistor St Edmund,
Norfolk*

A young barn owl drank from a water trough on the farm, fell in, and drowned. It was found the next morning and soggily removed. Now, the body decomposes in the hedgerow. My eight-year-old nephew showed me the white maggots feasting on the still beautiful corpse; only the beak and fierce talons remain in perfect condition.

Some years ago, my dad retrieved the body of an owl from the road. He thought it was dead, but it was just stunned. As the bird revived, the talons closed and sliced through his hand with ease. I reach out and touch the underside of this owl's four toes, covered in a rough, pink, knobbly skin, like a starfish. It feels like coarse sandpaper and enables an owl to grip its prey or a branch.

The drought this summer has claimed many victims here, most visibly trees, but this barn owl was at a dangerous point in life regardless. Young adults from this year's brood typically leave the parental territory at any point between August and November. Known as juvenile dispersal, it is also common in young dog foxes - although the females are allowed to stay. It reduces the risk of inbreeding and over-competition for food.

The average juvenile dispersal distance for barn owls is approximately 7.5 miles, which, despite not being far, will bring new risks. Crossing roads is probably the greatest hazard, along with water troughs, starvation and wires. The juvenile survival rate significantly affects the population size, even more so than factors such as successful hatching, death in the nest or survival of adults. It's dangerous to leave the known habitat, where it is proven that life can be sustained and reproduction achieved. Yet that instinct to strike out is inbuilt, like young adults packing a toaster and doorstep to head off alone into the wilds of freshers' week.

The sunflowers track the sun and, beside the cut hay meadows, the bright blue of chicory shines out in the otherwise muted landscape. A season turns and the young are on the move.

Kate Blincoe

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There's no magic bullet to solve our energy crisis

As concerns about the energy crisis deepen, we hope to see inventive proposals put forward that will serve both people and the planet. The former Ofgem director, Christine Farnish, makes several interesting suggestions for market reform, including the concept of a “universal provision of energy” for essential use (Energy: How to sort out a market in trouble, 8 September). To ensure a fair approach that protects the most vulnerable, the devil will be in the detail for all such proposals.

Daily energy consumption varies hugely from home to home: it depends on factors including who lives there, what low-carbon technologies are present and how well insulated the property is. Extreme weather events will become more frequent as a result of climate change - which means that we must also look ahead and consider conditions outside business as usual. In an unusually cold or long winter, a well-insulated property might expect a proportionately smaller increase in energy consumption than a poorly insulated property.

Thus, determining Farnish's “modest” amount of universal energy provision will be a

nontrivial exercise that must account for such complexities while being informed by real-world data, not just theoretical models. Separate concessions would need to be developed to reflect the impact of these extreme events on energy consumption across a range of households.

As we use more renewables, our energy consumption can become intelligent - shifting to times of the day when electricity is cheaper and plentiful. By addressing complexity and using innovative thinking, we can build a resilient, green and people-centred future energy system.

Lucy Yu
Centre for Net Zero

● If Stu Smith can avoid black mould growing in a house that is heated to only 10C (Letters, 8 September), I assume that he has never lived, as I do, in a small stone box in rainy north Lancashire. I'd be interested to know how the washing would dry during the winter, assuming that a tumble drier isn't used.

I haven't steamed a homemade Christmas pudding for years, since we discovered how much mould the steam creates on cold

bedroom walls. Heating the human rather than the air temperature would be like living with a family of Christmas puddings.

Lynn Fotheringham
Over Kellet, Lancashire

● I was dismayed by Stu Smith's letter. I'm shocked how government propaganda has twisted logic to the point where the poorest in society are to blame for having the thermostat at 20C and are expected to suffer from cold and hunger so that company profits are protected. What's the next tip going to be? Scrape the frost off the inside of windows each morning so that any winter sunlight we get helps heat our homes?

William Bartram
Hampton, London

● I live in a detached bungalow. I have plenty of loft insulation, cavity wall insulation, double glazing, thermal underwear and fleece jumpers, and I live in a relatively warm part of the country. Yet I will still need to use my gas central heating boiler or gas fire to heat my home in the winter, and my energy bills are still set to go through the roof.

Plus, as a single pensioner, I am at home all day, not going off to a warm office. Insulating homes is a good thing, but it is not, of itself, the magic bullet that will make the UK's energy crisis disappear.

Stan Salmon
Camborne, Cornwall

The forgotten role of community psychology

As a semi-retired clinical psychologist, I find it depressing that Dr Sanah Ahsan's article (We've been sold a lie about mental health, 8 September) should sound so revolutionary. When I trained in the early 1980s, a module entitled “community psychology” was part of the curriculum and addressed the very issues she raises. Like Ahsan, some of us were inspired to challenge the system alongside treating our patients' mental distress. Unsurprisingly, the module didn't survive the rise

of individualism characterised by the Thatcher years.

When, 20 years later, I became a trainer of clinical psychologists, I was surprised and disappointed by how few of my younger colleagues engaged with the impact that structural, socio-economic issues had on our patients' mental health. The role of clinical psychology had become one of picking up the pieces. Thus we inadvertently reinforced the idea that mental disturbance was the individual's responsibility. Constraints in our role, with an

increasing emphasis on therapeutic work, made it almost impossible to address how structural issues could be ameliorated - for example, by bringing a psychological perspective to community efforts aimed at effecting change.

I am pleased to see young psychologists re-engaging with these issues. My fear is that, in acknowledging that there are limitations to what therapy can achieve, a cynical government might use it as an excuse to cut the already inadequate provision of help for psychological problems.

Dr Susan Howard
Guildford, Surrey

When food in Europe is a matter of taste

In response to Adrian Chiles's article (After three weeks travelling in Europe, I'm calling it - British food is the best, 8 September), having lived in Italy for more than 20 years I can confidently state that there is no “Italian” food. The country has a multitude of regional styles, sometimes radically different in flavour, cooking techniques and ingredients.

Any town big enough to warrant more than one restaurant will have, in addition to an Italian

restaurant, a Chinese, a sushi joint, a Turkish kebab shop and a pizzeria at the very least. In Turin, which compared with Milan is a mountain hamlet with cows wandering its cobbled alleys, there are Thai, Indonesian, Mongolian barbecue, Persian, Indian, Russian, French, German, Spanish, Japanese and Armenian restaurants - and even a British restaurant serving fish and chips, meat pies and a full English breakfast.

Daniel Monti
Turin, Italy

● I agree with Adrian Chiles when it comes to European food. Five weeks in Italy drove me bonkers, and by week four I craved anything but Italian food. Monocultural food is mind- and heart-numbing. When we eventually left for home, we had an unexpected three days in Tokyo because of a typhoon. Across the alley from our hotel room was a neon sign advertising a Malay family restaurant, at which point I did start to cry. It was bliss. I will probably never spend five weeks in one European country ever again.

Diana Simmonds
Paddington, New South Wales, Australia

Corrections and clarifications

- Circular trade, such as repair or resale, makes up less than 1% of Selfridges' transactions with shoppers, not 5% to 6% as the company originally stated (Repair, refill, resell: Selfridges links up to the circular economy, 2 September, p39).
- The co-author of a University of Pennsylvania research paper is Dr Nick Kerry, not Kelly (Having children may make you more conservative, study finds, 7 September, p15).

Editorial complaints and corrections can be sent to guardian.readers@theguardian.com

A royal overreaction in the British media

It was interesting to read the article by Jim Waterson (Nervous BBC tries to show sufficient respect while not swamping audience, 10 September), but I was surprised that nobody at the Guardian saw the irony of the article being placed on page 25 of its own continuous coverage. The reaction of media organisations has been out of all proportion and causes those of us who thought we lived in a modern liberal democracy to despair.

Simon Gibbons
Stoke-on-Trent

● Please, Guardian, give due honour to our late Queen, but don't join the hysteria and infantilism of the rest of the UK media. We do not need to know who will look after Her Majesty's corgis. We need to know who will look after refugees following the appointment of Suella Braverman, and who will look after the poor after the appointment of Liz Truss.

John Hambley
Snape, Suffolk

● What a shame that the Last Night of the Proms has been cancelled. I'm sure that the programme could have been edited to turn the event into a huge musical tribute. Imagine all those prommers celebrating a life well lived.

Judith Collin
Yate, Gloucestershire

● Isn't now the time to have a discussion about republicanism?

Tony Cima
Winstone, Gloucestershire

● It has been blissful to listen to Radio 3's A Sequence of Music since the death of the Queen. Beautiful classical music introduced briefly, no chit-chat and no repetitive programme trailers. Just like the Radio 3 of old.

Martin Hickey
Castle Acre, Norfolk



Marsha Hunt

US actor and activist who had notable film roles in *None Shall Escape* and *Pride and Prejudice*

In the films of the 1930s and 40s, the actor Marsha Hunt, who has died aged 104, usually played sweet, empty-headed girls. In real life she was articulate, a passionate defender of minority rights and a Screen Actors Guild activist, which led to her becoming a victim of McCarthyite innuendo. She was never subpoenaed by the House Un-American Activities Committee (Huac), but she became associated with the “wrong” people at the wrong time.

She was spotted in her teens by a Paramount scout and given a contract in 1935. The studio confined her to pallid roles in a number of B-films. In 1939, she moved to MGM, where she stayed for six years and got better parts.

Three of them were in prestige productions starring Greer Garson. The first was as Mary Bennet, the bookworm sister of Garson’s Elizabeth in *Pride and Prejudice* (1940). In the slightly caricatured portrayal, Hunt had to sing off-key, something that she found difficult as she was very musical.

The following year, in *Blossoms in the Dust*, she was moving as Garson’s adopted sister, rejected by her future in-laws when they hear that she was born to an unmarried mother. In *The Valley of Decision* (1945), she was the spoiled daughter of a steel mill owner who is persuaded by a former maid (Garson) not to let her brothers sell the mill on their father’s death.

She was a racketeer’s moll in *Unholy Partners* (1941) and displayed some comic skill as the oldest of seven daughters in *Seven Sweethearts* (1942). In 1943, she was effective as a kooky rich girl in *The Human Comedy* and as one of nine army nurses in *Bataan* in *Cry Havoc*.

One of Hunt’s best roles was in André de Toth’s *None Shall Escape* (1944), one of the first US films to deal with the Nazi threat. It was written by Lester Cole, who would become one of the Hollywood Ten, convicted of contempt of Congress after refusing to answer questions supposed Communist affiliations.

Jules Dassin, later blacklisted, directed Hunt in *The Affairs of Martha* (1942) and *A Letter for Evie* (1946), and on Broadway in *Joy to*

the World (1948), a comedy about Hollywood in which a producer (Alfred Drake) and a researcher (Hunt) get into hot water for their liberal views.

In 1947 Hunt participated in the flight to Washington led by Humphrey Bogart, Lauren Bacall, John Huston and other members of the Committee for the First Amendment, a group of actors supporting the Hollywood Ten.

Hunt said they flew to Washington to “reassure an alarmed public that movies were not, as charged, filled with subversive red propaganda”. Bogart, under pressure from Warner Bros, was among several who went on to renounce the flight as “ill-advised”. Hunt made no such apology.

All this came in the year that her career was beginning to give her more satisfaction. In *Smash-Up*, written by John Howard Lawson, another of the Hollywood Ten, Hunt was third billed as the woman whom Susan Hayward suspects of trying to steal her husband. In Carnegie Hall, Hunt had to age from her teens to her 60s as a cleaning woman at the Manhattan concert hall who rises to

*Hunt, right, as Mary Bennet in *Pride and Prejudice*, 1940, and below, with Richard Crane in *None Shall Escape*, 1944. She was a member of the Screen Actors Guild and was subject to McCarthyite innuendo*

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GETTY; GLASSHOUSE/
SHUTTERSTOCK



become concert organiser. She had by then become a member of the board of the Screen Actors Guild. At the instigation of its president, Robert Montgomery, the members were asked to sign non-communist affidavits. Hunt refused.

In 1950, while she was on Broadway in *The Devil’s Disciple*, she was named in a pamphlet called *Red Channels*, which accused 150 people in the entertainment industry of having communist leanings. Thus, when she returned to Hollywood, she found herself almost unemployable.

The producer Stanley Kramer cast her in *The Happy Time* (1952) as the Scots-born mother in a French-Canadian family, worried about her adolescent son’s upbringing. Continually pressurised to disavow political beliefs she never held, Hunt was offered only a handful of parts, mostly as mothers.

One of them was James Dean’s mother in *Rebel Without A Cause* (1955), which she had to turn down as she had previously committed to doing three plays for a community theatre in Los Angeles. She played Natalie Wood’s mother in *Bombers B-52* (1957), mainly because of her resemblance to the younger star, and Brandon De Wilde’s selfish mother in *Blue Denim* (1959).

Hunt’s last movie role was as the mother of a first world war veteran in *Johnny Got His Gun* (1971), the only film directed by Dalton Trumbo, who was jailed for failing to testify before Huac.

Her background gave no hint of her liberal political leanings. Her father, Earl Hunt, was a lawyer of conservative Republican views, and her mother, Minabel (nee Morris), was a former operatic soprano. Marsha was born in Chicago but brought up in New York and attended the Theodore Irving School of Dramatics, becoming a fashion model before being signed up by Paramount.

In 1993, Hunt published *The Way We Wore: Styles of the 1930s and 40s*, a good reference book for costume designers and social historians. In later years, she decided to speak more about the time of the communist witch-hunts. “It was a shameful period, demanding conformity, stifling dissent. Young people today don’t believe it happened. It’s important for them to know, to understand the grip of hysteria, and paranoia that blighted our society, and to guard against it happening again.”

Hunt’s first marriage, to Jerry Hopper, the writer and director, ended in divorce in 1945. The following year she married the screenwriter Robert Presnell Jr. He died in 1986.

Ronald Bergan

Marsha (Marcia Virginia) Hunt, actor, born 17 October 1917; died 7 September 2022

Ronald Bergan died in 2020

It was a shameful period. Young people today need to understand the grip of hysteria that blighted our society

Other lives

David Crow

Designer who worked on record sleeves for bands including the Rolling Stones, Yes and Arcadia

My friend David Crow, who has died aged 60 from a lung infection, was a designer who worked on record covers for artists such as Yes, Salif Keita and the Rolling Stones.

Later he decided to move into teaching graphic design and then senior administrative roles at institutions including Manchester Metropolitan University and University of the Arts London.

David was born in the town of Galashiels, in the Scottish Borders, to George, a builder, and Rachel (nee Dodds), a nurse. After attending Galashiels academy he took a degree in communication media design at Manchester Polytechnic (now Manchester Metropolitan University). I met him in 1983 when David became a student intern at Assorted iMaGes in London, a graphic design company that I had set up in 1977.

His exceptional talent meant that he was the only student to whom we offered a job before graduation, and after getting his degree he joined us full-time in 1985 as a junior designer. In that role he helped to create record covers for Yes and the Duran Duran offshoot band Arcadia, among others.

He left Assorted iMaGes in 1989 to become art director at Island Records, where he came up with record sleeves for Aswad, Jah Shaka and Salif Keita. After only a year in that position he set up his own freelance graphic design studio with a fellow ex-Assorted iMaGes

designer, Garry Mouat, and together they produced the sleeve for the Rolling Stones Flashpoint LP in 1991.

With an enduring passion for encouraging talent in others, David then turned to teaching, and in 1993 closed his studio to become a lecturer, first at the University of Salford and then, in 1995, at Liverpool John Moores University, where he was head of the department of graphic arts.

In 2004 he headed back to his alma mater, Manchester Metropolitan. It was there that his quietly confident, softly spoken manner really made a mark, and he rose rapidly - almost reluctantly at times - from lecturer to dean (in 2010) and then pro vice-chancellor.

One of his great lasting legacies there was the creation of the Benzie building. Opened in 2013, with David taking care to involve staff and students

David Crow in 2019. His passion for encouraging talent in others led him into teaching

DAVID LEVENE



in its design, it is a visionary home for interdisciplinary and collaborative learning. In 2016 David moved to London to become pro vice-chancellor and head of Camberwell, Chelsea and Wimbledon Colleges of Art, which are part of University of the Arts London, and set about reshaping them. Earlier this year he became pro vice-chancellor for UAL's new programme of online learning.

David was a man of principle who was loved and respected by everyone whose life he touched.

He is survived by his partner, Karen Ingram, and four children - Drew, from his first marriage, to Sarah Fanthorpe, which ended in divorce, and George, Alisa and Martha, from his marriage to Wendy Pennington, from whom he had separated - and by his mother and his siblings, Janette and George.

Malcolm Garrett

Bob Thomas

Businessman responsible for transforming City Link into one of the UK's leading parcels carriers

My friend and former boss Bob Thomas, who has died aged 83, was an innovative figure in the UK freight and parcels industry. In 1971 he bought a 75% share in the loss-making London delivery company City Link and turned it into the country's first express parcels carrier.

When Bob bought his City Link share for £75 I was the youngest of his three employees, based in an old fish and chip shop in north London. The company had losses approaching £20,000 on an annual turnover of £100,000 but Bob introduced innovations such as same-day deliveries throughout the UK, specific and timed deliveries, and automatic proof-of-delivery; all covered by City Link's then-unique "double money back guarantee". He also introduced franchising to the UK express parcels industry, and the company became known as "the courier's courier".

Born in Lambeth, south London, to Harold Thomas, a caretaker, and Eva (nee Hollands), a housewife, Bob left Sutton County grammar school at 16 to take up a job as an import clearance and freight co-ordinator with United Carriers in west London. A year later, in 1956, he joined nearby Lep Transport in their export department.

His career progressed rapidly, and at the age of 25 he led a management buy-out of another London company, Vulcan Freight Holdings, becoming its managing director from that point onwards.

Over the next four years Vulcan became one of the most successful freight forwarders in the capital. In late 1970, following a takeover of Vulcan by Alltransport Group, he

resigned, and a year later took over City Link. As the company grew and flourished, in 1988 Bob appointed me as managing director as he moved over to assume the role of chairman.

By 1991, when he sold City Link to the Securiguard Group and retired, sales had grown to £32m per year, with a network of 36 UK depots and 600-plus employees. He was a highly impressive businessman with a remarkable facility for figures. He rarely used a calculator, and his speed when doing mental arithmetic habitually amazed those who worked with him.

A family man, even-tempered, quiet and sometimes shy, Bob worked hard in retirement for various charities, including the Variety Club of Great Britain, for whom he served on its sunshine coach committee. During his



working life he had sponsored countless events raising money for specially adapted minibuses to cater for schools and non-profit organisations working with disabled and disadvantaged children and young people.

After 10 years of retirement Bob and his second wife, Pam (nee Minnery), whom he had married in 1994, moved to live in the sunshine of Florida.

Pam died in 2016. Bob is survived by two sons, Darren and Richard, from his first marriage, to Linda Collins, which ended in divorce in 1984.

David Kennard

Jo Carey

Civil servant admired for his independence during his time at the European court of auditors

My friend Jo Carey, who has died aged 88, was a member of the pioneering generation of civil servants finding their way round the EU in the first 20 years of Britain's membership. He was UK member of the European court of auditors from 1984 to 1992.

The son of Richard Carey, a teacher at Rugby school, and Celia (nee Conway), Jo went to Rugby, then studied classics at Balliol College, Oxford. He undertook the Russia course of the Joint Services School for Linguists, based at Bodmin, Cornwall, during national service in the early 1950s.

He joined the Treasury in 1957, rose through the ranks, and from 1974 to 1977 was head of the economics division in the UK Permanent Representation to the EEC at the time of Britain's first

renegotiation of its membership terms under Harold Wilson. He arrived, I recall, full of the usual Treasury person's caution about Foreign Office enthusiasms, of which making a success of British membership of the EEC ranked high. But he soon absorbed all the sense of adventure and determination of his colleagues, and particularly enjoyed the opportunities offered by the UK's first presidency of the European Council in 1977 to direct the agenda in Brussels.

The stress of long hours and tense negotiations were relieved by the parties and dinners Jo loved to host, and long walks in the Ardennes on Sundays with Stella Rimington and others. In the summer breaks Jo and some of his more adventurous colleagues climbed mountains.

Back in the Treasury in 1978, Jo focused on international finance before becoming Treasury officer of accounts, an experience that set him

up for his next job as UK member of the European court of auditors in Luxembourg, handpicked by Margaret Thatcher. He focused there on correcting irregularities in agricultural expenditure.

His independence and fairmindedness in that role led to his appointment in 1994 by the French head of the agriculture directorate in the commission to chair the panel set up to resolve disputes between the commission and member states on the distribution of EU subsidies.

Jo came quite late to marriage in 1990 but his union with Liz Slade, an art historian, brought him great happiness. They shared a passion



for Italy, living for a time in a farmhouse in the Umbrian hills and travelling to exhibitions in Venice, Rome, Florence, Perugia and Milan.

In retirement in London from 2001, Jo played the piano, read voraciously, enjoyed watching the many birds attracted to his garden and delighted in his niece and nephew, stepson and stepdaughter.

Generosity was the key to Jo's character. He was the most loyal, hospitable and dependable of friends. Latterly his keen interest in the world was saddened by the way the UK's position in the EU that he and many others had spent much of their careers building was jettisoned quickly and, apparently, thoughtlessly.

Jo was appointed CMG in 1993 and awarded the Grand Cross of the Luxembourg Order of Merit in 1992.

He is survived by Liz, his stepchildren, Jackie and Murray, and his niece, Heather, and nephew, Andrew.

Sue Brown

Birthdays

Jacqueline Bisset, actor, 78; **Lt-Gen Sir Derek Boorman**, former chief of defence intelligence, 92; **Prof Linda Colley**, historian and writer, 73; **Bobby Davro**, comedian and actor, 64; **Anne Devlin**, playwright, 71; **Domenico Dolce**, fashion designer, 64; **Alain Ducasse**, chef, 66; **Prof Anthony Goldstone**, haematologist, 78; **Goran Ivanišević**, tennis player, 51; **Gordon Johnson**, historian, 79; **Michael Johnson**, Olympic athlete, 55; **Dame Eleanor King**, a lady justice of appeal, 65; **Dame Carolyn McCall**, chief executive of ITV, 61; **Stella McCartney**, fashion designer, 51; **Lord (Colin) Moynihan**, former chairman, British Olympic Association, 67; **Tony Pickard**, tennis coach, 88; **Prof Alice Rogers**, mathematician, 75; **Robin Smith**, cricketer, 59; **Zak Starkey**, drummer, 57; **Alison Thewliss**, SNP MP, 40.

Yesterday's solutions

Killer sudoku

Easy

6	7	2	8	4	5	3	9	1
9	5	3	1	2	7	4	6	8
1	8	4	6	3	9	2	7	5
3	9	7	5	1	4	6	8	2
4	1	8	7	6	2	5	3	9
2	6	5	9	8	3	1	4	7
8	2	6	4	9	1	7	5	3
5	3	9	2	7	6	8	1	4
7	4	1	3	5	8	9	2	6

Medium

6	9	4	2	8	3	5	7	1
1	8	2	5	4	7	9	3	6
5	3	7	6	1	9	8	4	2
4	2	8	1	3	5	6	9	7
3	6	9	7	2	4	1	5	8
7	5	1	9	6	8	3	2	4
9	1	3	8	7	2	4	6	5
2	4	6	3	5	1	7	8	9
8	7	5	4	9	6	2	1	3

Codeword

J	O	U	S	T	C	A	R	I	B	O	U
O	R	O	O	E	U	N					
K	I	N	G	P	I	N	F	U	N	I	
E		K	Y	U			C				
R	I	S	I	N	G	S	T	U	D	I	O
S	Q	O	B	E	R		R				
M	U	T	T	E	R	S	S	I	G	N	
N	A		O			Z	S				
E	E	L	S	J	A	C	U	Z	Z	I	
W	I	S	D	N	L	A					
S	E	D	U	C	E	S	T	A	Y	E	D
C		Y	S	A		H					
A	V	E	R	T	T	E	X	T	I	L	E
S	R	H	Y	E	N	R					
T	R	A	P	E	Z	E	D	A	N	C	E

Cryptic crossword

Solution No. 28,860

S	P	R	U	C	E	B	E	D	S	I	T		
E	O	O	A	L	P	R							
G	A	R	B	R	E	D	N	O	S	E	D	A	Y
L	O	N	V	P	E	E	N						
V	I	R	T	U	E	E	X	E	R	C	I	S	E
O		L	N	S	H	O							
I	N	O	C	U	L	A	T	E	A	D	A	M	
				U									
T	A	N	K	A	R	A	I	N	Y	D	A	Y	
O	F	W	E	A									
N	O	B	O	D	I	E	S	S	I	C	I	L	Y
M	R	M	O	K	H	A							
Y	U	M	M	Y	A	C	R	E					
C	E	I	E	O	M	G							
H	I	D	I	N	G	Y	U	P	P	I	E		



Stuck? For help call **0906 200 83 83**. Calls cost £1.10 per minute, plus your phone company's access charge. Service supplied by ATS. Call **0330 333 6946** for customer service (charged at standard rate). **Want more?** Get access to more than 4,000 puzzles at theguardian.com/crossword. To buy puzzle books, visit guardianbookshop.com or call **0330 333 6846**.

Killer sudoku

Easy

The normal rules of Sudoku apply: fill each row, column and 3x3 box with all the numbers from 1 to 9. In addition, the digits in each inner shape (marked by dots) must add up to the number in the top corner of that box. No digit can be repeated within an inner shape.

12	4	16	19		16		17	
							10	
	22		23	11		11	3	18
11								
	17	17			13			
14		18	15		16		16	9
					17			
8			9			9	3	
	7		17		7			

Medium

8	14	17			22	12		23
		17	7			8		
22				18			12	
8			8		17	18	21	
20	13		11					
	19			12			21	
			21	6			8	
10					12			

Codeword

Each letter of the alphabet makes at least one appearance in the grid, and is represented by the same number wherever it appears. The letters decoded should help you to identify other letters and words in the grid.

8		3		20		4		11		4		13	
21	16	12	3	22		10	16	2	9	7	26	15	
20		24		18		16		21		15		24	
2	12	20	1	2	22	3		12	20	17	6	21	
21		21				20				20		2	
2	22	7	25	3	26	26		8	20	9	3	23	
3				12		4		21		7			
4	s	6	24	24	3	23		8	6	4	4	16	12
			20		22		8		6				16
21	20	19	3	23		2	22	11	16	4	3	4	
20		6				9				9		18	
5	2	6	26	20		7	3	15	13	6	26	3	
2		7		26		20		20		16		21	
4	6	20	8	24	6	14		22	3	21	5	3	
13		4		4		3		7		4		23	

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z
1	2	3	4	S	5	6	O	7	8	9	10	11	12	13											
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26													

Guardian cryptic crossword No 28,861 set by Anto

1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8
9									10					
11				12										
			13											
	14						15							
16		17					18				19			
20									21				22	
								23						
24					25									
26							27							

Across

- City diner hosting retirement of current medic (7)
- Physical border, which the sun doesn't cross (3,4)
- Feel cargo gets damaged by such wind (4-5)
- Spotted returning, carrying daughter's essentials (5)
- One way to get slimmed down parliament (4)
- County stores let rector inside (10)
- One may be roasted from exercise with a fanatic (6)
- Eccentric uncle working to find subatomic particle (7)
- Not many screwed up? Quite the opposite (7)
- In the middle of town, diners cursed the proprietors (6)
- Will plot fail if it doesn't go off? (6,4)
- Loose violin section repels composer (4)
- Tip for cooking tough vegetable (5)
- It stores images showing popular pair of beastly males (9)
- Prove setter perhaps can be best in class, eventually (4,3)
- Prudent having American medical facility in food processing plant (7)

Down

- Record time inside, being so confined (5)
- Discharge rector replacing bishop as head of trust (7)
- Dope harvested from rainforest becomes most precious (4)
- Brew home beer, fitting at the moment (3,3,4,5)
- Hearing it, Jimmy, Graham and Benny might have risen again! (3,5,2,5)
- Canon's done exercising – it doesn't take long (10)
- List that is covering broadcast times (7)
- It finishes fast, getting new direction (7)
- Broke off engagement on Facebook? It wasn't meant to be! (10)
- Unfortunately, it's holding up better source of wool (7)
- In two minds over a party – it requires quick turnaround (7)
- Back up religious type suppressing a Gaelic language (7)
- Declare note is sounding sort of identical? (5)
- Denounce dad and mom's new beginnings (4)